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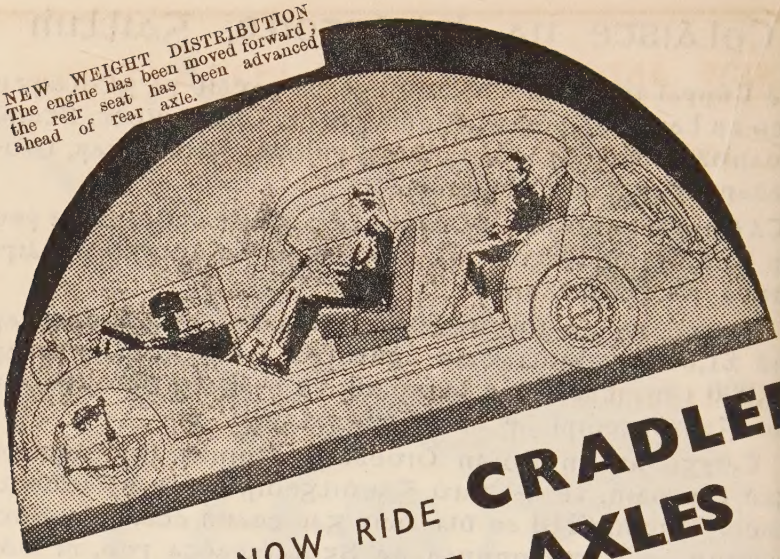

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n Irish Quarterly Review

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BYSSINIA AND ITS JESUIT MISSIONARIES

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

VERYONE knows that the great Dr. Johnson, the lexicographer, was the author of a species of romance which entitled "The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia." s not perhaps equally well remembered that Johnson as a ng man had translated from the French a wholly serious l informative work which was presented to the public as *Voyage to Abyssinia;* by Father Jerome Lobo, a Portuse Jesuit," but which also, according to the title page, tained dissertations on "the history, antiquities, governnt, religion, manners," etc. of Abyssinia, in illustration Father Lobo's text.[1] The circumstances in which this ok was produced are duly chronicled by Boswell, who further orms us that Johnson received only five guineas for his nslation of this volume of 400 pages. Though the dreary -communings of *Rasselas* are now generally forgotten, st people are aware that the Prince so named is repreted as living in the honourable seclusion of a "happy ley" from which there was no prospect of escape—this ng clearly a reminiscence of what we find recorded in the lier book. There it is stated that "anciently the Princes Abyssinia) who had any right or pretension to the crown re kept under a strong guard on Mount Guexen," and that "temper and manners of each prince were diligently served," so that a suitable choice might be made when the perial throne became vacant.[2] The real purpose of this uestration may be very much open to doubt, but the ce—otherwise written Guixen, Geshan or Ghiesen—and the actice of, so to speak, marooning the monarch's nearest of n seem to have been authentic enough. Father Pedro ez, about the year 1620, records that he had conversed

[1] The author of the French version and of the dissertations was a M. Legrand. These itions were a good deal condensed, as the Preface states, in the English translation, ch was published in London in 1735, exactly 200 years ago.
[2] Lobo, *Voyage to Abyssinia*, pp. 261 and 259.

with two elderly grandees who had been confined at Gu in their youth, and Father Manoel de Almeida gives an fuller description—indicating, in the valuable map whic drew of Abyssinia, the precise location of the Amba Gu spoken of.[1] Let me add that, both in the English book in the French original which Dr. Johnson synopsized, name *Rassela* (so printed) occurs more than once. It st for a well known historical personage, *i.e.*, Ras Sella Chr (*Ras* being simply a title, like Rajah) a prince whose activ are referred to innumerable times in the narratives of early Portuguese missionaries. He was in fact the loyal to the Church, as well as the most learned, of all Jesuit converts, and it would be no exaggeration to say he died in the end a martyr for the Faith.

Before we go further, it is interesting to note that Johnson in the Preface of this early book of his pays tri to the sobriety of Father Lobo's account of his missio experiences. He writes, for example :—

> The Portuguese traveller, contrary to the natural vein of his cou men, has amused his readers with no romantic absurdities or incre fictions. Whatever he relates, whether true or not, is at least prob and he who tells nothing exceeding the bounds of probability, right to demand that they should believe him who cannot contr him.
>
> He appears by his modest and unaffected narrative to have cribed things as he saw them, to have copied nature from the life to have consulted his senses, not his imagination. He meets no basilisks that destroy with their eyes, his crocodiles devour prey without tears, and his cataracts fall from the rock without de ing the neighbouring inhabitants.

Naturally two hundred years ago some concession to be made to Protestant prejudice, and Johnson, the

[1] All these documents, together with the map, are reproduced by Father Camillo E S.J., in the fifteen volumes of his very valuable collection, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Sc Occidentales Inediti* (Rome, 1903-1917), in which the texts are printed in their o languages, Portuguese for the most part. For the comments of Pedro Paez (†16 the Amba Guexen, see vol. II. p. 105 and 111-117 ; and for those of de Almeida see pp. 213–219. Guexen was not really a valley, but an " Amba," which, as Mr. H Blundell explains, is " a precipitous mountain with a flat top, such as are nume Abyssinia owing to the denudation of the basaltic plateau leaving isolated masses f natural fortresses." *The Royal Chronicle of Abyssinia* (Cambridge, 1922) p. 50 *cf.* p. 539. These ambas, with which the whole country seems to be studded, have ages proved a very serious obstacle to the progress of the military invader.

nknown student at Lichfield, offered his readers a chance of ssenting from his conclusions if they wished. So he went n :—

> In his (Father Lobo's) account of the mission, where his veracity most to be suspected, he neither exaggerates over much the merits the Jesuits, if we consider the partial regard paid by the Portuguese their countrymen, by the Jesuits to their Society, and by the apists to their Church, nor aggravates the vices of the Abyssinians; ut if the reader will not be satisfied with a Popish account of a Popish ission, he may have recourse to the History of the Church of byssinia, written by Dr. Geddes, in which he will find the actions and fferings of the missionaries placed in a different light.[1]

The interest taken in Abyssinia by the rulers of Western urope would seem to have had its starting-point in the ystery which invested the person of the supposed "Prester ohn." Who he was or where he reigned nobody rightly new, but his name had figured prominently in medieval terature from the twelfth century onwards. He was believed o be a supremely powerful oriental monarch who was both riest and king. His dominions were at first vaguely located n Asia; but when, late in the fifteenth century, it came to be ecognised that of all the lands which had been over-run by he followers of the Prophet, the Ethiopians alone, as a nation, till made formal profession of Christianity, the conclusion uggested itself that their ruler the Negus, officially styled he "Negusa Nagast" (king of kings), must be no other than he true original of Prester John.

This view seems to have been first propounded to, or dopted by, the Portuguese negotiator, Pedro de Covilham, who was sent to the East on a mission of exploration in 1487.[2] pproaching from the side of Egypt, he eventually penetrated nto Abyssinia; but he was not allowed to leave the country gain, and though certain manuscripts of his reached Europe,

[1] Preface, pp. vii-ix., Dr. Geddes in 1686, while acting as chaplain to the English factory t Lisbon, got into trouble with the Inquisition. Returning to England he obtained referment from his friend Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, who writes of him in his *History f the Reformation*: "He (Geddes) had a true notion of Popery as a political combination, anaged by falsehood and cruelty, to establish a temporal empire in the person of the opes. All his thoughts and studies were chiefly employed in detecting this." Such a an was hardly likely to produce a very impartial account of Catholic missions.

[2] See de Almeida in *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales* (=R. A. S. O.), ol. V., pp. 246-8.

he remained there more than twenty years until his deat
Meanwhile Vasco de Gama, the hero of Camoens' nation
epic, had rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, thus layi
the foundation of the Portuguese settlements in Goa and t
Indies. As the navigators of those days for the most pa
hugged the shore, the need of maintaining control over t
east coast of Africa and the mouth of the Red Sea led to t
opening up of direct communications with Ethiopia. Isla
was the great enemy, corsairs were not lacking in the India
Ocean, any fighting force which was in conflict with t
Moslems was worth encouraging, and joined with these tem
poral considerations there was a very real desire to spread
knowledge of the true faith among pagans and schismatic
King Emmanuel of Portugal and his successor John III, bo
of them devout Catholics, entertained the hope of winni
back the Ethiopian Monophysites to the unity of the Churc
and the idea naturally met with warm encouragement fro
contemporary Popes. On the other hand the rulers
Abyssinia, hard pressed by the Mohammedans by whom the
were surrounded, were eager to obtain the armed support
what was then one of the great powers of Christendom.

A crisis was reached in 1541. For some years before th
a very capable but fanatically cruel Arab leader, Ahme
Granh, had carried on a continuous campaign against t
Negus David and against Claudius who succeeded him. T
invaders took stronghold after stronghold, and letters implo
ing aid were dispatched from Abyssinia to Rome and
Lisbon. It seems certain that amongst these a professio
of obedience to the Pope was at least on one occasion include
After the delay which in those days inevitably attend
communications which had to be carried on over long distanc
by sea, Christopher da Gama, the younger son of the explor
Vasco, set sail from Goa in 1541 with a small fleet and 4
Portuguese soldiers. Landing at Massowah, after passing Ad
and the Straits, the relief force pushed its way into Abyssin
and fought many successful actions; but in the end superi
numbers prevailed, and Christopher da Gama, having be
taken prisoner, had his head cut off by Ahmed Granh wi

is own hand. The tide of fortune, however, turned soon fter this. Granh himself was defeated and slain, the uthority of the Negus was restored, and zealous Catholics n Europe, counting upon the gratitude of those who had enefited by the help afforded them, judged that the moment as propitious for beginning a new missionary campaign ith the object of bringing back Ethiopia to the fold of the hurch.

The prospect was alluring, but little in fact was accomlished at that time. King John III., who had been deeply mpressed by the apostolic virtues of St. Francis Xavier and ather Simon Rodriguez during their stay in Lisbon, begged ery earnestly that this undertaking should be confided to he then newly founded Society of Jesus. St. Ignatius conented, and, with the approval of the Pope, Father Nuñez Barreto was placed under obedience to accept, despite his wn reluctance, the dignity of Patriarch of Abyssinia, while wo other Fathers, Andres Oviedo and Melchior Carneiro were to be consecrated bishops at the same time, with a definite provision that in the event of Nuñez's death the office of patriarch should devolve upon them in due succession. In case it should be thought that in the circumstances then existing the erection of a patriarchate was somewhat premature, a few words of explanation may not be out of place.

Both at Lisbon and in Rome it was at that date fairly well understood that the Abyssinians from time immemorial derived their orders from the schismatical Coptic patriarch in Egypt. There is sound reason to believe that Christianity was originally introduced into Ethiopia by Frumentius, who was sent there about the year 350 by the great St. Athanasius. The tradition therefore persisted that the "Abuna" who presided over the Abyssinian Church (he alone ordaining priests, anointing the King, deciding ecclesiastical causes, etc.) should be appointed and consecrated by the Coptic patriarch. Practically speaking the Abuna was the only bishop in the country. Without him no Orders could be conferred. If he died, it might be years, especially in times of political disturbance, before a new Abuna could be obtained

from Cairo, so that the Ethiopic Church was at a stand still. This seems to have happened in the middle of the sixteenth century after the death, in 1534, of the Abuna Mark; and consequently a certain Portuguese, John Bermudes, who had been in Ethiopia with Christopher da Gama and was later charged to convey letters from the Negus to the Pope, conceived the idea of claiming the dignity for himself. After leaving Rome he gave out, wherever it was safe to do so, that he had been appointed Patriarch of Abyssinia by Paul III in 1538. There was absolutely no foundation for the statement, for Bermudes had not even received any sort of priestly orders, but he must have concocted his story cleverly, for it was generally credited by those Europeans who were best informed in such matters—*e.g.*, by the Jesuit Fathers Polanco, Pedro Paez and many others.[1] No doubt when Bermudes left Africa he believed that the rulers of Abyssinia, in their then desperate need of help, were prepared to accept a patriarch from Rome in lieu of an Abuna from Cairo, but by the time he got back the political situation had changed. Though a plausible scoundrel, Bermundes was grossly ignorant in ecclesiastical matters, and the Abyssinian monks at once saw through the imposture. Even supposing the Negus Claudius to have been at one time sincere in seeking re-union with Rome, which is very doubtful, such an incident would have been sufficient to prejudice him violently against any Portuguese interference.

It is therefore hardly to be wondered at that when at last in 1556 the band of Jesuit Fathers with the Patriarch Nuñez reached Goa after a journey marked with many hardships and reverses, they learned that in Abyssinia the door was already shut against them. The Negus vouchsafed no reply to the letters from the Pope and the King of Portugal accrediting their mission. A new "Abuna" from Cairo had been installed some time before. The anti-Roman prejudices of the schismatic native clergy were very strong. The Christianity they professed was incredibly corrupt, not only in matters of dogma, but also in the moral code which prevailed

[1] See Beccari, R. A. S. O., Vol. V., Preface pp. liii-lx, and Vol. X., pp. 28-29.

their liturgical observances and in the retention of many the most distinctive practices of Judaism. Added to this, became very difficult in the face of the Mohammedan sairs to obtain a vessel which would convey the Fathers m Goa to any port on the Red Sea whence they could make ir entry into Abyssinia. Thus it was decided that the triarch Nuñez should remain for the present at Goa, where fact he died in 1562. Five other missionaries under the dership of Oviedo did succeed in entering Ethiopia, where y laboured heroically for the rest of their lives; but no ult was achieved proportionate to the cost and the hard-ps endured. It was not, therefore, deemed expedient to id others to reinforce them, for there was a great demand active workers in what were then the more remunerative ssionfields of Japan, China and Hindustan itself. Thus when e saintly Father Francis Lopez, after an apostolate of forty ars, went to his reward in 1597, no other Jesuit remained the country.

In 1603, however, an entirely new epoch began, in which uch was accomplished and in which there seemed at one time be good hopes that Abyssinia as a whole might be brought ck to the profession of the Catholic faith. The soul and spiration of this new endeavour was the wonderful mis-nary and scholar Father Pedro Paez, who seems to have en raised up by God to meet the wholly exceptional diffi-lties which were encountered in the evangelisation of byssinia. The story of this Father's experiences in his efforts reach the scene of his future triumphs is typical of what appened in the case of a dozen others. A Spaniard by birth, e was sent to the Indies at the age of twenty-three to pursue is theological studies at Goa while accustoming himself to riental conditions and acquiring a knowledge of the languages hich might be needed. A sudden opportunity arising for new missionary effort in Abyssinia, he was hurriedly ordained nd dispatched with Father Monserrate in February 1589, o make his way thither by the Red Sea. Evading the Arab orsairs who infested these coasts they reached Muscat in afety, but there Paez fell dangerously ill and they could

not pursue their journey until December. The trading s in which they finally embarked was captured by the Moha medans. The missionaries were taken prisoners, confined various towns in Arabia, cruelly ill-treated, fettered and h starved. A ransom of 5,000 ducats was asked for the and when the sum was not forthcoming, their condition beca even worse than before, so far so that Paez, who was vigorous man, was made to row as a slave in the galle Eventually, after nearly seven years of captivity, a rans of 1,000 ducats was accepted, and in December 1596 Fathers returned to Goa. Paez was bidden to resume theological studies, which had hardly been begun when was ordained priest; but worn out by the hardships he h undergone, he again fell ill and lay at death's door for ma months.

In the meantime news had arrived of the death of Fat Francis Lopez, the last survivor of the little band of Jesu who had entered Abyssinia with Father Oviedo, forty ye earlier. Father Paez, who during the period of his captiv had acquired a remarkably perfect knowledge of Arabic a other Eastern tongues, was judged by far the most suita to continue the work. But even though this decision v arrived at in the beginning of 1601, it was not until the e of 1603 that suitable means were found to convey him to destination, for the Arabs dominated every African harb from which a journey into the interior could be attemp with any hope of success.[1] Eventually, however, he mana to make acquaintance with some influential Mohamme merchants who traded with the Portuguese settlement at D and passing himself off as an Armenian who was anxious claim the inheritance of a relative who had died in Abyssi he obtained a promise from them to find him the means entering that country. Travelling under their protect and furnished by the Portuguese Viceroy with suffici material resources, he made the passage to Massowah in

[1] It must be remembered that, owing to the arid and uncultivated nature of the cou surrounding Abyssinia, single travellers, or even a small group of travellers, wh ignorant of the way, simply courted death unless they had guides and animal trans for water and provisions.

d Sea without mishap, and there his good friends kept their rd, providing him with the transport which he needed to ch Debaroa, which is in Abyssinian territory. There was sort of Portuguese colony with a church of their own at emona, a little further on. It had been tolerated there m the time of the mission of Father Oviedo, apparently a sort of trading centre. The residents welcomed Father ez with great demonstrations of joy, and he began his ostolic work by preaching to them and bringing back to tholic observance many who had fallen into disorderly ys.

It would be impossible here to give any detailed account the wonderful success which attended the labours of Father ez during the eighteen years which followed. He seems have been in some sort the ecclesiastical counterpart of the E. Lawrence of our own days. Equipped with a perfect owledge of Arabic [1] and animated with the most self-crificing devotion to the cause which he represented, he so possessed that very necessary gift—perhaps somewhat re among fervent missionaries—of delicate tact and com-ehension of an adversary's point of view. What is certain that from the very first he acquired an extraordinary per-nal influence over the Neguses who successively ruled byssinia down to the time of his death in 1622. This in-ience no doubt prejudiced them in the eyes of the more natical of their subjects and especially the monks. Za enghel (otherwise known as Atanâf Sagâd), who was reigning 1603 when Paez arrived, at once became the Jesuit's friend id protector. He wrote to Pope Clement VIII professing bedience and also to the King of Portugal. Contrary to ather Paez's advice, he issued an edict forbidding the obser-ance of Saturday, which by the Abyssinians is held in equal onour with Sunday the Lord's day. These extreme measures rovoked a revolt among some of the Negus's disaffected

[1] We find him engaging in long disputations with the Abyssinian monks within a few ys of his arrival. These surely must have been conducted in Arabic, which was no doubt miliar to the natives who had any pretence to education. But we know that he soon quired a mastery of the Ethiopic tongues, Ge'ez, the sacred language, and Amharic, e dialect which was commonly spoken.

subjects, and in the attempt to put down this insurrect Za Denghel was slain. In succession to the dead ruler, anot short-lived sovereign, Jakob, who had previously held imperial office, was restored to power. He also became devoted friend of Father Paez and wrote letters to the Po the King of Spain and the General of the Jesuits; but 1607 he met his death in battle when he took the field aga another claimant to the throne, Susnêos (Seltan Sagad), v supplanted him. Strange to say Susnêos equally fell un the spell of Father Paez's eloquence, and he carried his acce ance of the Roman obedience to even greater lengths t any of his predecessors. Some of his letters written in Ethic to Pope Paul V, to Father Aquaviva, General of the Jesu to Philip III of Spain, and to Cosimo de' Medici, Grand D of Tuscany are still preserved.[1] He reigned until 1632, although towards the end of his life he revoked that comp dependence upon the Holy See and the universal introduc of the liturgical usages of Western Christendom which he been so energetic in furthering, he repented in his last illn made his confession to the Jesuit Father de Mattos, declared that he died in the profession of the Catholic faith

It was undoubtedly the tact and devotion of Father I which won over to the cause of unity this powerful ally was for twenty years the resolute champion of ortho belief. On the other hand a certain intransigeance and of tact on the part of the Jesuit, Father Mendez, who cam Abyssinia as Patriarch in 1625, seems to have been ultima responsible for the defection of the Negus Susnêos an number of other important people.[2] There is reason to bel that Paez had virtually sacrificed his life to the princ that Ethiopian sentiment should not be outraged in pract which were in no way in conflict with Catholic teach In the Lent of 1622, when worn out by his labours and terities, he was summoned by the Emperor Susnêos who then sojourning in the Galla territory and who wanted counsel. It was the Abyssinian practice on fast days to

[1] The Ethiopic text is printed in Beccari's first volume, pp. 257-267, with a trans by Professor Ignazio Guidi.

[2] See Father Beccari's comments in *R. A. S. O.*, Vol. VIII., Preface, pp. xiii-

od until sunset and the missionaries, not to give scandal ny laxer observance, conformed to this usage. Father accordingly undertook this journey of several hundred under a burning sun while remaining each day without until the evening. It is small wonder that after his n he had to be carried to his bed, from which, though ring for some weeks, he never again rose.

whole volume might be written on the peculiar religious vances of the Abyssinians which are not less strange the manner of their fasting. They have been described reat detail in the accounts left by Fathers Paez, de ida, Barradas and a number of others. A few sentences the narrative of Father Lobo, as translated by Dr. John- will suffice by way of illustration. There is abundant ence in Ethiopic manuscripts accessible here in Europe [1] ie extravagance of their devotion to the Blessed Virgin. er Lobo goes on to remark :—

> hey are possessed with a strange notion that they are the only Christians in the world. As for us, they shunned us as heretics, were under the greatest surprise at hearing us mention the Blessed n Mary with the respect which is due to her, and told us we could e entirely barbarians, since we were acquainted with the Mother d. It plainly appears that prepossessions so strong, which receive strength from the ignorance of the people, have very little ten- y to dispose them to a reunion with the Catholic Church. They opinions peculiar to themselves about Purgatory, the creation uls and some of our mysteries. They repeat Baptism every year, retain the practice of circumcision, they observe the Sabbath, abstain from all those sorts of flesh which are forbidden by the f Moses. Brothers espouse the wives of their brothers, and they ve a great number of Jewish ceremonies. Though they know words which Jesus Christ appointed to be used in the adminis- on of Baptism, they have without scruple substituted others in place, which makes the validity of their Baptism and the reality heir Christianity very doubtful.[2]

When the influence of Father Pedro Paez and his discreet dling of the problems presented by such a Christianity

[1] See the sumptuous volume *The Miracles of the Virgin Mary* with the Ethiopic text, nile illustrations and translation by Sir E. Walter Budge. The MS. owned by Lady , belonged to King Theodore and was brought from Magdala in 1868.

[2] Jerome Lobo, *A Voyage to Abyssinia* (1735) p. 62.

as this extract depicts, were replaced in 1625 by the tradition inaugurated by the Patriarch Father Mendez, situation of the missionaries in Abyssinia very soon bec an anxious one. Mendez was bent on introducing all observances with which he was familiar in western Eur He required that the law of celibacy should be binding o the clergy; he set his face resolutely against any tolera of Communion under both kinds; he even had the I Mass translated into Ethiopic with the object of makin obligatory as the only form of ritual; he announced intention of abolishing the Ethiopic calendar altogether of replacing it by that of Rome, and in order to get rid o Abyssinian observance of Saturday as a day of rest h sisted that the fast which the people, following a trad which we find recorded in the *Didache*, practised on Wed day, should be transferred to the Saturday itself. Natu the mere announcement of such a programme stiff enormously the resistence which the natives, and espec the monks, were already disposed to offer to any innova Mendez was undoubtedly a good and devoted priest, an was a learned man upon certain conservative lines,[1] bu appears to have been wholly lacking in breadth of judgm By his entire policy he played into the hands of the contents. The Emperor Susnêos, finding that his cham ship of the missionaries had betrayed him into an impos position of conflict with the vast majority of his pe wavered and eventually in 1632 issued a decree that dependence of Abyssinia upon the Church of the Egy Copts should be restored. It is true that before his deat earnestly commended the Jesuit missionaries to the tection of his son and successor Fasiladas. But the Emperor, though in 1630 by a formal oath he had s fidelity to the Holy See and to the faith of Rome, paid heed to such restrictions upon his freedom of action.[2]

[1] It was characteristic that he insisted that a complete edition of the works of Suarez should be purchased for his use and should be conveyed to the Indies to ass in the refutation of the heretics and schismatics of these Eastern lands.

[2] It is curious that the one convert of royal blood who was conspicuously faith death was the Ras Sella Christos whose name was borrowed by Dr. Johnson for his ro

its with the Patriarch himself by degrees were driven and several of them suffered death. In particular the erable Father Gaspar Paez, a relative of the great Father o, was run through with lances in 1635, exactly 300 years The cause of his beatification was introduced, but has been proceeded with. In Rome a certain prejudice seems hat date to have grown up, partly on national grounds, nst the Portuguese Jesuits.[1] The Abyssinian mission confided to the Capuchins of the Italian province, but were long unsuccessful in penetrating into the dominions he Negus, and until a new effort was made in the last ury nothing practical was accomplished.

The founder of the modern mission to Abyssinia was an an Vincentian (or Lazarist) Father Justin de Jacobis, se beatification seems likely to come to pass in the near re. His heroic labours and death recall the missionary of Father Paez; and the conversions which he made he Catholic Church mark a new era in the history of this t difficult mission. The Venerable Justin de Jacobis was ointed the first Vicar Apostolic of Abyssinia in 1838; it is significant that this new effort was inaugurated by e Gregory XVI, whose work for the organisation of Catholic sions has not yet been fully appreciated. A few years r (1846) a second Vicariate was added under the title of la, and was entrusted to the Italian Capuchin Fathers; a Prefecture Apostolic of Kaffa was erected in 1913. Catholic population of these territories is still very small me 15,000 out of a total population of nine or ten millions. it should be remembered that the population of modern iopia is very mixed; the three and a half million schismatic istians are nearly equalled in numbers by three million hommedans—the rest of the population being for the most t simply pagan.

HERBERT THURSTON

[1] See on all this the very discerning comments of Father Beccari, *R. A. S. O.*, Vol. VIII, ace, pp. xvii–xxxvi. A suspicion had been created in Rome that the Portuguese using the Abyssinian mission for political ends.

GEORGE RUSSELL (A.E.)

1867-1935

BY CONSTANTINE P. CURRAN, M.A.

ALL A.E.'s writings are autobiography. One turns their pages in the shadow of his death hoping to re from them in precise words the impression one would g communicate at this moment to others who did not come u his immediate spell or were perhaps dimly suspicious of a whom James Connolly called " this great genius, this mag personality." But his writings are spiritual autobiogra and their essence is only to be conveyed in their own langu they are intelligible only to those who read them in the spirit of shining honesty in which they were written. Irish writer that I know has written in such a spirit of plete candour upon matters so intimate, so significant a capable of misconstruction. When one adds to thi variety of expression imposed by his many-sided person the ecstasy of creation in which he worked, and then differences in certain fundamentals which endured thr without disturbing, a thirty years' friendship, one feel futility of any attempt to imprison a protean spirit or, wor one who betrays where one would translate.

The outer form of his action was simple enough and fa to the public—a few years in Pim's counting-house, a life association with the Co-operative Movement, a life devotion to the creation of a national literature in Ir courageous and decisive plunges into social and po whirlpools when a crisis called his generous spirit, imp of injustice, from its world of ideas, and the interstices o life filled with the painting which gave himself and his f so much pleasure—and with unending, stimulating challenging conversation.

Where is the principle of unity which fused this ac of poet, painter, playwright, essayist, economist and publ

have seen such another man in Thomas Davis, one to whom aspect of Irish culture was strange and one who worked the same spirit of complete unselfishness; a man, as it uld be, greater than any of his works. We recognise the ional impulse which drove his course, the time-spirit of early nineteenth century, which saw the birth of new ionalities and new methods of popular education. Social ies and a new world consciousness distinguish our Ireland m that of Davis, and A.E.'s patriotism, not less than vis's, had a quality more complex in accord with our more nplicated problems. Dedicated no less than Davis or rse to the service of his country, the principle of his action l a more remote source. Davis and Pearse are saints of sh patriotism. They shaped themselves into literary ists for their own consuming purpose. But A.E. had a se of beauty before he had anything else; and when ldenly and inexplicably he found himself a visionary, the ist and patriot stood thenceforth subordinate to the new elation. His poetry and his love of country were born ectly out of vision and were for many years so fed and stained.

We are in the presence of a spiritual and literary phenomen such as Blake, and the problem it raises, both in regard to e creative imagination of the artist and otherwise, is of more an merely curious interest. Its fruits are before us; its thority is wholly subjective. Let us see what it is.

A.E. tells how beauty first dawned on him as a child of ur or five years, overcome by some enchantment flickering out a clump of daffodils in a park at Lurgan and a little ter by the fascination of a magic sword in a child's story nose hilt was silver and blade of blue steel. The harmony blue and silver, the magic of the words themselves, bewitched him and awakened with the daffodils his sense of lour. Soon afterwards his moral sense of unselfishness as awakened by a story of a neighbour woman, weeping quarter of an hour before her death because she could not se to nurse a sick friend. His sense of beauty, he observes, ntedates by a little his moral sense. He had none of Words-

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ALL A.E.'s writings are autobiography. One turns over their pages in the shadow of his death hoping to recover from them in precise words the impression one would gladly communicate at this moment to others who did not come under his immediate spell or were perhaps dimly suspicious of a man whom James Connolly called " this great genius, this magnetic personality." But his writings are spiritual autobiography, and their essence is only to be conveyed in their own language ; they are intelligible only to those who read them in the same spirit of shining honesty in which they were written. No Irish writer that I know has written in such a spirit of complete candour upon matters so intimate, so significant and so capable of misconstruction. When one adds to this the variety of expression imposed by his many-sided personality, the ecstasy of creation in which he worked, and then those differences in certain fundamentals which endured through, without disturbing, a thirty years' friendship, one feels the futility of any attempt to imprison a protean spirit or, worse, as one who betrays where one would translate.

The outer form of his action was simple enough and familiar to the public—a few years in Pim's counting-house, a life-long association with the Co-operative Movement, a life-long devotion to the creation of a national literature in Ireland, courageous and decisive plunges into social and political whirlpools when a crisis called his generous spirit, impatient of injustice, from its world of ideas, and the interstices of this life filled with the painting which gave himself and his friends so much pleasure—and with unending, stimulating and challenging conversation.

Where is the principle of unity which fused this activity of poet, painter, playwright, essayist, economist and publicist ?

of an immortal memory : and out of that enduring memory they were breathed into the mind of the boy to give age or wisdom to his thought, or to bring the being who lived to-day to some unity of purpose with the ancestral selves.

These waking dreams would fall on him at any time with miserable reactions, as the Iron Age (as he called it) closed again about him. Born into the narrow sectarianism of an Ulster country town, of incomplete schooling, a stranger to the richness and discipline of religion, alone in the first adventures of his spirit, and feeling with anguish a gulf widening between him and normal life, this young visionary now began to meet others whose youthful experience had some affinity with his own and among them " a boy whose voice was soon to be the most beautiful voice in Irish literature." A.E. in later years would shy, and with good reason, from being bluntly called a theosophist ; a great part of theosophy he regarded as pure charlatanry, against whose dangerous folly he never ceased to warn innocent enthusiasts. But he joined and remained the centre of a theosophic group. His reading and meditation turned upon Eastern literature ; and, as it appeared to me, his mind was always seeking an interpretation or vindication of his own visions in the sacred literatures of antiquity and in the modern literature of dream psychology. How far this study promoted and determined their form or gave them significance I do not know. But it is certain that the early visions preceded the study. His reading of the Upanishads and the Brahminical teaching in addition provided him with a mental discipline to which he had hitherto not been subject, itself of a quite unusual character. Speaking of this period of his early manhood disciplined by Eastern methods of intense concentration and meditation to secure control of his will, he was equally emphatic on the extreme labour of these efforts and on the dangers which accompany the exercise. Whatever the case, it is certain that he came out of this period with an enormous capacity of flinging himself whole-heartedly into the work before him and of changing over with equal mind and focusing his powers upon quite different tasks.

At this critical period, when he had already publis two books of verse, theosophic in general character, he introduced to the early literature of Ireland by Stan O'Grady. He accepted the point of view of O'Grady. nobility and chivalry of Irish saga captivated his sympat its imaginative and visionary elements were in tune with temper of his mind, and the Celtic cosmogony, as expre by O'Grady, provided a wide field upon which to project luminous creations of his own myth-making faculty. It the age of the symbolists, and the influence of Mr. Y friend of his youth and maturity, came to reinforce O'G by directing him to the poetic value of a symbolism der from this new world.

It is an impertinence to interpret a contemporary w who has left his own scriptures. And it is folly to attemp follow the development of a mind like A.E.'s through In literature of which I know nothing or through the chao Gnostic and theosophic teaching or the imperfectly as tained survivals of Celtic antiquity. But it is necessar set out, however imperfectly, the general form of his tho when A.E. came down into Irish affairs from the Himal or Kilmashogue, bearing with him his first two volume poetry. Ireland had become to him a sacred thing, bec he believed that its soil was living and living with a divine not the poetic vesture of Divinity but part of Divinity its altar and Presence alike. This Irish earth has its own mem part of a general *anima mundi.* Its soil is our lost E of whose Golden Age only the poets and mystics have s vision :—"its mountains dense with fiery forms and awf Sinai." These forms, emanations of Divinity, burn thr the transparency of earth and, according to their nature ours, awaken ancestral memories, reveal the spiritual char of the race to itself and direct its pilgrimage into the Eter

A mouthful, you will say. But this was actually the s in which A.E. worked. Not merely in his early poetry, w it is set forth most clearly (if indeed clearly at all, since t poems are best read with the glosses supplied by his l prose), or in his myths of the same date, but in his e

our since 1900 to create and foster a modern literature in and. He would break with the materialism of the Iron . He would populate stage and poetry, prose and pro- anda with the heroes of pre-history and with our ancestral ths, believing that these carried with them some breath livinity. And not in literature only, but in political and al action. "The seeds which are sown at the beginning a race bear their flowers and fruits towards its close . . . . re is a reservoir of spiritual life in the land, but it is hardly ng enough to repel English materialism, while we are minally hostile to English ideas; and shall it be triumphant n we have given over our hopes of a separate national stence and merged our dreams and longings with a nation ch has become a byword for materialism?"

As the universe had no other design for him than a spiritual, also no economic problem was merely economic. Any radation of humanity was an insult to divinity. It in- iated him; and those letters of stormy eloquence which flung out in the 1913 labour dispute against the Masters Dublin were a protest against an intolerable abuse of power ich would reduce the spiritual stature of a workman. And with his work in the Co-operative Movement. He saw it part of a revolt against the Iron Age. To James Connolly *he National Being* brought to the long-neglected toilers Dublin a new conception of co-operation between rural l industrial workers . . . . the ground work of a new social er." But its author confesses a more abstract purpose: ven in my economic studies which led me to write *The tional Being* I was brought to think less of circumstance n of the spirit behind national movements, and from that as brought to the more completely mystical mood of *The erpreters*, where the politic of the characters is traced k to motions in *Anima Mundi*."

In *The Candle of Vision* (1918) A.E. has taken pleasure, in ning back on his early poems, to discriminate between that ich was self-begotten fantasy and that which came from, he conceived, a higher sphere. In *Song and its Fountains* pushes the inquiry further in an attempt to unveil the

secret source of poetry. There are signposts to these springs in Plato and the classics, hints in Blake, Coleridge and Wordsworth; but I am not aware of any express examination of this nature by any earlier poet, though there is interesting corroboration of some of A.E.'s experience and findings in A. E. Housman's recent *Name and Nature of Poetry.* Without this or any other information these confessions of a poet, illustrated by specific instances from his own verse, have authentic value. They are conveyed in language of singular beauty and may, perhaps, be briefly dwelt on.

> To me it was only after long reverie that a song would come, as a bird might fly to us out of the vast hollows of the air . . . . There was always an element of the unexpected in the poetry itself, for it broke upon and deflected the normal current of consciousness. The words often would rush swiftly from hidden depths of consciousness and be fashioned by an art with which the working brain had little to do. My poems were the residue or essence of waking dreams.

The much anthologised verses beginning "Its edges foamed with amethyst and rose" seemed to come "almost as swift as thought one evening while I was sitting on some rocks. There was no pre-consciousness of the idea before I began to murmur line after line. I was unconscious of creation." Verses seemed to float about the brain like a swarm of bees trying to enter a hive. An entire poem would come in complete revelation. "I was surprised by a sudden fiery rushing out of words from within me, and I took paper and pencil and wrote, as rapidly as fingers could move, the words which came to me, aware from the first that all was complete." He describes the composition of the long poem *Michael,* and it is in curious resemblance with A. E. Housman's experience. "I woke up one morning and some lines of verse tumbled out of the dream state into the waking" (he quotes them). After these followed a line which had no relation to the preceding lines. He had an instinct that a long poem had been completed in dream and that all he had to do was to let the poem drift into consciousness. Walking about the hills, in a few days the poem was completed. When

two hundred lines had been written down, the isolated line fell into its proper place, and the plan of the poem first became clear to himself.

He finds that most of his poetry has proceeded (1) from the enchantment of dream flooding the waking consciousness, or (2) from the direct rush of the poem or its idea upon him out of sleep, or (3) from the momentous fusion of his own being with the souls of others brought into psychic intimacy by some affinities of emotion or thought, or (4) from the projection of a symbolic vision or dream into the waking consciousness when engaged in meditation.

His general conclusion is that all poetry is born beneath the dream consciousness; that vision and high imagination come from a centre of consciousness behind the sphere of dream. Interpreting this conclusion on the lines of Eastern thought and accepting the four states of the soul classified in the Upanishads—waking, dreaming, deep sleep, spirit waking—he finds this centre in the third of these states.

We here approach a classic controversy in which the poets *de pur sang* range themselves on one side, while the critics and the poets adulterated with intellect range themselves on the other. Blake, as we know, believed much of his writing to be automatic; Coleridge echoed his dreams; the garrulous Hugo, though this is less to the point, found it easier to speak in verse—I do not say in poetry—than in prose and would awake with alexandrines in his mouth. To A. E. Housman intellect is not the fount of poetry and may actually hinder its production. He writes of its creation as an involuntary process, a secretion, and instances in terms hardly distinguishable from A.E. his own experience:—

> There would flow into my mind, with sudden and unaccountable emotion, sometimes a line or two of verse, sometimes a whole stanza at once, accompanied, not preceded, by a vague notion of the poems which they were destined to form part of. Then there would usually be a lull of an hour or so, then perhaps the spring would bubble up again.

Other instances might be cited from the sister art, as when

Wagner records a dream in which he seemed to be floa
along a river :—

> The murmur of the waters soon began to take on a musical sou
> it was the chord of A flat major which rang out and floated on an
> in little never-ending arpeggios . . . . Suddenly I felt as if the w
> were pouring over me in a rushing torrent. Terror-struck, I aw
> and realised that the theme of the Rheingold Prelude, which I
> been hearing within me so long without ever being able to give it pr
> shape and form, had just been revealed to me.

And now listen to the doubtful intellectuals. Earle We
writes, not of A.E., but of Coleridge :—

> He was one of the great Gnostics of poetry ; he substituted dre
> and vaporous forms, immense spiritual apparitions and hypothe
> principles of the universe for the flesh and blood in which poetry,
> the Church, has always believed.

Or the youthful Paul Valéry, still a mathematician :-

> If I were to become a writer, I would infinitely rather write so
> thing poor with complete consciousness and lucidity than bring
> finest *chef d'oeuvre* to birth by the operation of a trance which ca
> me away.

The unknown (I quote Bosanquet) is to be distrusted
explored, not to be worshipped. The relation of trai
intelligence to the subliminal up-rush of intuition is depic
in Valéry's writings much as the relation of Prospero
Caliban. Intuition becomes a demon of creative incohere
whispering a million stupidities for one fine idea. It
the duty of the intelligence to dominate and control
impulses that surge into consciousness.

The conception of the poet not as the artisan of bea
but as seer and prophet deriving a special authority fr
communion with arcane, ancestral wisdom is, of course,
ancient origin—more ancient than Rivière gives it credit
when he says that it is only with the advent of Romantic
that the literary art came to be conceived as a sort of raid
the absolute. Inflated by subjective romanticism and r
reduced by the prickings of contemporary criticism, it

ains one of the poles between which criticism swings, ever slow we are to follow Blake and

> Hear the voice of the Bard
> Who present, past and future sees;
> Whose ears have heard
> The Holy Word
> That walked among the ancient trees.

ritain and T. S. Eliot, friends and counsellors of poets, e been putting up the traffic signals. Maritain writes :—

By showing us where moral truth and the genuine supernatural situate, religion saves poetry from the absurdity of believing itself ined to transform ethics and life; saves it from over-weening gance.

d Eliot indicates the danger of defining or testing poetry speculations about its origins and by reference to its tative antecedents in the mind of the poet :—

There is another danger in the association of poetry with mysticism ides that which I have just mentioned and that of leading the reader look in poetry for religious satisfaction. These were dangers for the ic and the reader; there is also a danger for the poet. No one read Mr. Yeats's *Autobiographies* and his earlier poetry without ling that the author was trying to get as a poet something like the ltation to be obtained, I believe, from hashish or nitrous oxide. was very much fascinated by self-induced trance states, calculated nbolism, mediums, theosophy, crystal-gazing, folk-lore and goblins . . Often the verse has an hypnotic charm; but you cannot take ven by magic, especially if you are, like Mr. Yeats, a very sane son. Then by a great triumph of development Mr. Yeats began to ite and is still writing some of the most beautiful poetry in the guage, some of the clearest, simplest, most direct.

I have dwelt too long and inconclusively on this con-versy, perhaps because it carries echoes to my ears of hement discussions and differences, so patiently and good-mouredly endured by my elder. When reference was made his own poetry, one found A.E. less concerned with verbal licities or even with the magic of words, to which he was ways subject, than with its correspondence with and faithful mmunication of the mood in which it was written. He ized the melody of verbal sound and would examine all

poetry in search of its assonantal pattern. Confronted wi any work of art, his only test was beauty and, in particul a certain dream-quality which he held to be of its essen Amazing now to remember how little survived that tes whole tracts of literature crumbled under it and whole ce turies disappeared from the history of art and letters. T swiftest intuitions led him to what was kin to him, and discarded impatiently all else. I induced him once, for t love of Monet, to meet me on a holiday returning throu Paris. I saw the whole city vanish from his interest sa the vaporous morning light on the curving Seine, where would sit with sketching-block. The pomp of Versail faded into the beauty of its running waters and of a frien face; the Louvre into a handful of pictures—a Fra Angeli a Watteau and some Impressionists. The poets he cared abo were Blake, Whitman, Yeats, some Arnold and some Wor worth. He would like to have saved Tennyson from hims

If I were concerned here with any explicit criticism his work and not with its background, this harmony betw his beliefs and his practice would be illustrated. You will n find in his verse many singular felicities nor very many coerc natural images, though there are many, nor much preoc pation with men's passions and activities. He was not o for whom the visible world existed. He reproduced cert moods of the soul and subjected all his landscapes—in wo or colour—to these moods. He would have agreed w Chardin, *on se sert bien des couleurs mais on peint avec sentiment.*

He painted as he wrote with extraordinary facility b with less technical accomplishment, and it is characteris that what learned people call an artefact does not occur think, in any picture. You may have perhaps a wall o hedge, but no house, no boat, no tool nor any sign of hum labour. He never seriously applied himself to drawing. worked without a model; and though he might plant canvas against a Donegal landscape, he preferred to indu his prodigious faculty of memory and improvisation. E there is in his painting—I do not speak of his symbolic pictur

ose interest is elsewhere—a suavity of design and in-ıctive colour harmony in which one willingly forgets the ility. "Light is the real person in a picture." He looked and found light and the rhythms of graceful movement. passage in *The Avatars* is autobiographic in this regard.

> Men are never nearer to the gods or more partakers of their ecstasy n when they are creative. Paul, incessantly creative, was the ıpiest of men. Seated in a glade of the forest he would see the nches, green-burdened and wind-swayed, make fire and darkness eel to and fro on the russet floor. He watched the flying of tattered ne and purple shadow; and the mad dance of colour evoked whirl-figures which rushed out of the house of the soul to mix with the ling light. . . .

Touching Irish politics, his paper *Nationality and Im-ialism*, written in 1901, shows him a nationalist in the full ıse of Thomas Davis, and from that position he did not ıterially change. He was passionately concerned for human erty and did not greatly concern himself with the form it ght take. An insult to human liberty called him down into ; streets in 1913. In the conscription crisis his action was ually clear. His desire for Irish unity kept him from being republican, and anxiety to serve the same cause brought n reluctantly enough into the Convention of 1917-18. hen its dishonest purpose was becoming apparent, he left with Edward Lysaght, breaking on a national issue with ; life-long friend Plunkett. His political convictions were ver held in the spirit of a partisan, and this even temper of nd added weight to his influence and helped to form that ;tion of English opinion which was outraged by the inven-ın of Black and Tan terrorism. He did not choose to live the political arena and declined an offered place in the nate upon the formation of the new state. He was one of e rare people who maintained their friendships unbroken the strain of civil war.

His work in the literary movement from 1900 in association th Mr. Yeats has been plentifully recorded and need not be capitulated. I prefer to speak here of his influence on ıung writers. It derived from the complete freedom, hospi-lity and simplicity of his mind. He was not a propagandist

of his own ideas amongst them, in the sense that he ne
tried to impose them on others nor required the least acc
ance of them from his associates. He was no proselyt
On the contrary his desire was to ascertain in what direc
they were tending and then to kindle into action their h
formed volitions. He blew many sparks into flame, but
for his own satisfaction. "He shook out," as Simone T
wrote in the best account written of A.E., "he shook
ideas as from a torch in dazzling improvisation, and each
carried away a spark to light his own fire." He was the r
magnanimous, the most generous of contemporary art
and with this magnanimity went a simplicity of spirit w
flung open his whole mind to all comers. He made no di
ence of persons; the latest and youngest new-comer
his attention as if he were his long awaited Avatar.
variety of his conversation was a Dublin proverb, ran
over philosophy, economics and the arts. The matter o
talk was copious and richly illustrated; his dialectic reso
ful and dexterous; its temper beyond all praise. There
no rancour in his judgments, nor did he willingly perm
in others; a kindly wisdom throned over debate, com
hending and all-forgiving. The most divergent opinions fo
patient hearing, but the immoderate appeared a little ri
lous. He captivated by honesty and entire absence of ar
ance, but most of all by the conspicuous purity and u
fishness of his spirit. There was something Franciscan
his way of living, known more than ever to his friends in
last years of his life when, determined to have no superfl
he stripped himself of his belongings. In this unselfish
lay his authority among young writers, who underst
plain living and high thinking and good studio talk.
founded no school, and these writers have gone each t
own way. The fabric of his vision was too remote subs
tially to affect, except by reaction, the direction of l
letters; but during his life he was to these writers, and
in memory remains part of their conscience, a tribunal be
which the ignoble dwindles.

C. P. Curra

SAINT THOMAS MORE, EUROPEAN

BY CHRISTOPHER HOLLIS

S was only to be expected, the canonisation of St. Thomas
More and of his fellow-martyr has been the begetter
any volumes of biographical panegyric.[1] Catholic names,
as that of Monsignor Smith, are prominent in the list
heir authors, but I think that few will dispute that among
e volumes the first place should be given to one from a
-Catholic pen—to Professor R. W. Chambers' *Thomas*
e.[2]

It is hard to know what exactly is the proper moral that we
uld draw from this pre-eminence of the non-Catholic.
first sight one is tempted to take it as an example of the
py truth that the English nation, for all the bitterness
ts hatred of Catholicism throughout the greater part of
four hundred years between St. Thomas's death and
lay, has yet, even when it turned against all else that was
holic, never turned against him. St. Thomas More is
the first of English saints. But he and his colleague, St.
n Fisher, are the first of English-speaking saints. They
the first of the canonised saints who spoke on earth a
guage substantially the same as that which we speak
lay. Indeed St. Thomas was more than a speaker of
glish ; he is one among the few men that can lay claim to
title of a maker of English. For a language only finally
omes a language when it has been used as the vehicle of
at prose. One might well argue, as Professor Philimore
d to argue, that St. Thomas was the first of great English
se-writers ; one could not but admit that he was one
the first of great English prose-writers.

During the last four hundred years the language which
helped to make has often been used for purposes that

Daniel Sargent: *Thomas More.* (Sheed & Ward. 1934. 7s. 6d.); Richard L.
h: *John Fisher and Thomas More.* (Sheed & Ward, 1935. 5s.); H. E. G. Rope:
er and More. (Browne & Nolan. 1935. 3s. 6d.).

R. W. Chambers: *Thomas More.* (Jonathan Cape. 1935. 12s. 6d.).

cannot but have brought sadness to his soul. It will be rei
bered how Cardinal Newman reminded us, English-spe
Catholics, that, whatever the future might hold, yet we
never escape from the enormous truth that English liter
was in its years of growth an anti-Catholic literature.
in all the full vigour of its bitterness, this anti-Catholic l
ture did not turn against its Catholic creator. There ha
through the centuries a steady stream of affection fo
Thomas. The Elizabethan dramatists—Shakspeare, i
probability, among them—combined to put St. Thom
the stage not as the traitor to Queen Bess's father b
" the best friend that the poor e'er had." Addison, Secr
of State in a Whig Government at a time when the
were attempting to crush out the Catholic remnants b
most savage penal laws, yet wrote of him : " His death
of a piece with his life."[1] The praise of Swift is known t
Southey, a hundred years later, fighting his battle ag
Catholic Emancipation, yet, when in his *Colloquies* he w
to call a figure of wisdom out of the past to rebuke the
of the age, chose that of St. Thomas. Macaulay, Sout
opponent, was united with him only in his contemp
Catholicism and in his admiration for St. Thomas.

Professor Chambers would then be in good compa
we were to hail him merely as the last in the distingu
list of non-Catholic English men of letters who have
their tribute to a great Catholic. But to do so would be
him a grave injustice. For, while we are grateful to so
of St. Thomas's non-Catholic panegyrists for the praise
they have given to his name, one cannot in fairness bu
that they have only made him out to be praiseworth
making him out to be altogether different from wha
truth he was. And the portrait of the sentimental lil
three hundred years before his time but not quite poss
of the courage of his convictions, has, it must be fra
confessed, made it harder and not easier for Englishme
recognise the true features of the sanctity of St. Thomas

But Professor Chambers is not at all of this company.

[1] *Spectator*, No. 349.

not, like its members, attempt to draw St. Thomas in wn image, leaving out what he finds unintelligible, nor imself to prove that St. Thomas agreed in all things his own opinions. He draws him as he was, and he shows n that, while he was indeed one of the makers of modern ish prose, he was also perhaps the last mediaeval man of ish history. He was *par excellence* the " bridge " man. the Refectory of (shall we say) Northanger Abbey," s Professor Chambers in the *Great Tudors*,[1] " in 1530 St. ustine, the Venerable Bede, Thomas Becket and Thomas might all have felt at home. Nothing except some slight rences in the pronunciation of their Latin would have ented them from understanding each other perfectly. years after More's death, Northanger Abbey " had me the Abbey which Jane Austen knew. From time to there bursts out into the newspapers an epidemic of ers, who knew somebody who knew somebody else who seen Charles II or who had been guilty of some other such syncrasy of longevity. We are in the presence of a similar erience in the spiritual order when we make the friendship, e can, of St. Thomas More. We are getting to know some- y who knew St. Augustine. It is this great truth which fessor Chambers so clearly sees. St. Thomas More is, more n any other single Englishman, the man who makes English ory one, and therefore an interpretation of his life from such en—the product of thirty-three years of study and of a d as deeply learned in the history of our sixteenth-century any that exists—cannot fail to be of consummate import- e.

When therefore Professor Chambers says on the first page his book that it has been his aim " to depict More not only a martyr (which he was) but also as a great European tesman,"[2] it is worth our while to stop and ask ourselves at exactly he means by this claim. During the last months ny pages have been written—naturally enough—upon St. omas as a martyr. It is clear what that title means. But at is meant by calling him " a great European states-

[1] Pp. 113-4. [2] P. 15.

man" ? Or what did Mr. Chesterton mean when in the *F* *of Blessed Thomas More* he wrote: "Blessed Thomas M is more important at this moment than at any moment s his death, even perhaps the great moment of his dying, he is not quite as important as he will be in about a hund years time" [1] ?

Now we to-day are accustomed to the notion that political obligations are owed absolutely to the officers our national state. Even when we criticise that notion have to criticise as innovators and revolutionaries. But must understand that to St. Thomas it was the notion wh was the innovation and the revolution—an innovation an revolution to which he was opposed. We cannot underst his problem if we think of it as a problem of the debt primary loyalty being owed to the nation and the doub question the question when patriotism justified disobedie to the Government. To St. Thomas the primary loyalty to Christendom. It was the Christian Church which had m the civilisation in which he lived. England, his coun was one of the provinces of that Christendom. Sent into world under obligation to do their duty to their neighbo most men in practice would naturally spend their lives in service of neighbours in their own country. It was ri and healthy that people should have a preference for the w and customs of the land where they were born. But s preferences and such customs in no way justified the barba of deliberately preferring the interests of the part to thos the whole.

It would not be difficult to collect a number of passa from St. Thomas in proof that this was the faith that he h Yet enough is enough. By far the most important and m striking is that from the speech which he delivered be the judges who had condemned him. He declared: "T realm, being but a member and small part of the Chu might not make a particular law disagreeable to the gen law of Christ's universal Catholic Church, no more than City of London, being but one poor member in respect of

[1] P. 63.

e realm, might make a law against an Act of Parliament nd the whole realm." For this there were two reasons. as a mere principle of logic that the effect could not be er than the cause. "No more might this realm of England e obedience to the See of Rome than might the child e obedience to his own natural father." And, as a matter istory, the Kings of England had specifically recognised ty to the Catholic Church as the condition on which they their thrones. "It was both contrary to the laws and ites of this our land yet unrepealed, as they might ently perceive in Magna Charta, *quod Ecclesia Anglicana a sit et habeat omnia sua iura integra et illesa*, and also rary to that sacred oath which the King's Highness elf and every other Christian prince always with great nnity received at their coronations."

To St. Thomas then Christendom was the unit. War veen Christian powers were civil wars and to be deprecd because they weakened the fundamental unit and osed it to the attacks of the non-Christian enemy outside. s in the *Utopia* he had railed in barely concealed sarcasm nst the policies of Henry VIII, Francis of France and other European princes of his day, who were frittering y the strength of Europe with their futile Leagues and nter-Leagues. "For this causeth men (as though nations ch be separate asunder by the space of a little hill or a r were coupled together by no society or bond of nature) think themselves born adversaries and enemies one to ther." [1] St. Thomas's objection to these wars is different n, and deeper than, that of his friend Erasmus. To Erasmus wars are to be denounced for little more than that they rfere with the free movement of a scholar's life. To St. mas their danger is that they weaken Christendom. And thus, very logically, when the Lutheran revolt arises, Thomas, denouncing that revolt for many reasons, ounces it among others as a social disaster because it will upt the unity of Christendom. "Since that the ambition Christian rulers, desiring each other's dominions, have set

[1] Chap. Of Bondmen . . . . and divers other matters.

them at war and deadly dissensions among themsel whereby, while each hath aspired to the enhancing of his c they have but little forced what came of the common c of Christendom, God, for the revenging of their inordi appetites, hath withdrawn His help and showed that careth as little, suffering, while each of them laboureth eat up other, the Turk to prosper and so far forth to proc that, if their blind affections look not thereto the sooner shall not fail (which Our Lord forbid) within short proces swallow them all." [1]

St. Thomas's faith was not one of vague cosmopolitan The Utopians believed that there was " a fellowship of natu for that was all that they could believe. There was a cer brotherhood of men, simply in virtue of their being r But St. Thomas would surely have answered to some of modern enthusiastic propagandists of non-dogmatic cos politanism, that men cannot co-operate upon means w there is no agreement at all between them concerning ends at which they are aiming. World unity is inde proper Christian ideal, but only so long as he who hol understands that it is only realisable on the condition that world first becomes Christian. As Cardinal Fleury ju said to the Abbé St. Pierre when confronted with that drea schemes of world unity, the first task was the missiona " Begin by sending a troop of missionaries to prepare hearts and minds of the contracting sovereigns." And practical man, whether in St. Thomas's day or our cannot but accept the facts that, whatever the distant fu may hold, the world is not, and shows no signs of becom unitedly Christian.

The Christian has then to answer the question: W should be our policy towards non-Christian communities which we are thrown into contact? There is no possib of active and continual co-operation with them. The that can be hoped for is something of the nature of a pa non-aggression and mutual tolerance. For such a paci Thomas shows that he would, had it been a practical po

[1] English Works, p. 278.

e been quite prepared. "In case the Turks, Saracens Paynims would suffer the faith of Christ to be peacably ıched among them, and that we Christian men should efore suffer in like wise all their sects to be preached ng us, and violence taken away by assent on both the s. . . . it were peradventure none evil way." [1]

Yet he is, naturally enough, well aware that there is no ctical possibility of making any such arrangement. The stion of the day is not whether the non-Christian shall olerated, but how he shall be repulsed. The Turk was on march. There was no obvious reason why he should not ep up to the destruction of a divided Europe. England geographically the most distant of all the provinces of ope from that menace. The task which St. Thomas set nimself was that of bringing home to Englishmen the folly magining that they could remain indifferent to Europe's sters or see in them only an opportunity of wringing out themselves some provincial advantage from their neighrs. Isolation from such a battle would be by no means ndid, and he therefore logically enough denounces both hypocrisy and the treason of the Lutheran doctrine that Turk should not be resisted but that Christians should w themselves to be conquered by him and to accept the quest in meekness for the punishment of their sins. The herans did not in truth expect to be conquered by the ks. They expected the Catholics to defend them against Turks, while they, having feared God and kept their vder dry, would be free to discharge their blunderbusses the backs of their deliverers and fellow-Christians when onvenient moment might arise.

The problem which the non-Christian forced upon the istian in Europe was not then, in St. Thomas's day, the blem whether the non-Christian might be conquered, ether he should be persecuted, whether he should be expriated. Of none of these was there any practical possity. But it was of course another story in the newly disered American lands. The whole problem in St. Thomas's

[1] English Works. Pp. 275-6.

day was still in its infancy. Cortes had not yet saile
Mexico nor Pizarro to Peru. In the still further distant fu
lay all the English colonial enterprises. Henry VIII
but little interest in the outskirts of the world. Yet the
discovery of the new Continent inevitably caused thoug
men to ask themselves what relations with that coun
inhabitants right ethics could countenance. And, as
researches of Professor Reed have shown, the question
forced upon the mind of St. Thomas with an especial insist
by the accident that his brother-in-law, John Rastell, happ
to set out on one of the earliest of English colonising e
ditions to America—financed largely, it seems, with the m
of St. Thomas's father. The expedition never reached Am
and returned, having accomplished nothing, unless its ac
plishment be reckoned in the pages for which it was respon
in the *Utopia*.

Among the Utopians, it will be remembered, the pre
of war stood very low. "War they do detest and abhor
they count nothing so much against glory as glory gott
war." [1] But on the other hand, if additional territory
necessary in order to accommodate an increased popul
then, if it could not be obtained peaceably, they were w
to take by force land which its present owners were not
properly. "For they count this the most just cause of
when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and v
to no profitable use, keeping others from the use and poss
of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature
thereof to be nourished and relieved." [2]

Because of these words of his St. Thomas has been ac
by two distinguished German critics—Herren Oncken[3]
Tröltsch[4]—of being a forerunner of British Imperialism
considering such criticisms we must first beware of not f
into the old Seebohmian error of assuming that St. Th
necessarily approved of everything that the Utopians
The present writer has argued that the *Utopia* was a

[1] Chap.: Of Warfare.
[2] Chap.: Of their living and mutual conversation together.
[3] Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie. Phil.-Hist. Klasse. 1922
[4] Christian Thought, Its History and Application. Pp. 145, etc.

ion of a society which had progressed as far as it was ible for a society to progress without the aid of Christian lation. This interpretation does not differ widely from that Professor Chambers nor from that of Monsignor Smith is excellent and important *John Fisher and Thomas More*, has it met with serious challenge. I may perhaps there- be excused from the repetition of the reasons which led to adopt it and allowed instead to consider the conse- nces which it imposes on us in interpreting that passage *Utopia*. There are, I think, three important objections to r Oncken's interpretation.

First, it is hardly possible to doubt that the first obligation ch, to such a mind as St. Thomas's, the discovery of a Continent would certainly impose upon the Christian opean would be that of carrying his faith to it; the first blem which would certainly occupy his mind would be problem of what missionary methods were legitimate what to be condemned. By the very conditions of his St. Thomas was prevented from allowing the Utopians be faced with these problems. But the conclusion of the k in which he describes the Utopians themselves as ready eceive the Christian faith shows clearly that he understood t was the proper sequel to the discovery of a new land.

Secondly, even the Utopians only defend the seizure of itory by a country which is making full use of all its own l and which has nevertheless got a surplus population, the seizure of that territory from people who are not ig their land. By taking the passage out of its context in er to erect it into a humourless plea for a later British perialism, Herr Oncken misses the whole point of St. mas's satire. He forgets that St. Thomas in his first book *Utopia* has been explaining that England, far from being a country as Utopia, was a country in which the agri- ural districts were grossly underpopulated and in which resources of the country were by no means developed. ely, if for Herr Oncken's benefit we may translate the tasy back into straightforward argument, what St. Thomas aying is: "Suppose that you were making full use of all

the sources of wealth that you had in England and that Fra on the other hand was an empty and undeveloped count then I do not say that it would be justified, but it would at least intelligible, that you should try to annex the territ of France. But, since neither of these suppositions are your conduct is merely foolish."

Thirdly, by his introduction of an accusation of "Britis Imperialism, Herr Oncken introduces an entirely new quite unwarranted element into the situation. One co conceive that St. Thomas might perhaps have agreed th in order that the Christian faith might be established in countries, Christian governments should be set up. And you are going to have governments, then you must be pared to countenance in extreme circumstances the use force. But it is quite inconceivable that he would not, f his position, have argued that the Imperial agent should Christendom at large and not a particular nation. If it the vilest crime that in Europe itself any nation should sider itself as more than a province of the great unity Christendom, we may be sure that he would have said *a fortiori* was this so in the great missionary task of exten the boundaries of Christendom. That one Christian nat while engaged on this great business of extension, should an advantage of geographical or political fortune to ste march over another Christian nation, would, we may be s have seemed to him intolerable.

To St. Thomas then the unit was the unit of Christend But that unit was extended not only in space but in t Wiser than the modern nationalist in that he accepted a l of communion with foreigners, St. Thomas was also w than the modern progressive in that he accepted the bon communion with his ancestors. In the chapter "The El of Elfland" in *Orthodoxy* Mr. Chesterton has writ "Tradition may be defined as an extension of the franc Tradition means giving votes to the most obscure of all cla our ancestors. It is the democracy of the dead." [1] We have the dead at our council-tables, he demands. And is exactly the demand of St. Thomas—a demand to be ful

[1] P. 83.

in any sentimental, metaphorical sense but with absolute alness. He believed in the communion of saints. Thus, when the final test came to him, he justified him- by the appeal both to the general will in space and to the eral will in time. "I am bound, my lord," he told Lord ncellor Audley, "to conform my conscience to the counsel one realm against the general counsel of Christendom." to his daughter, Margaret, he argued: "But go we now hem that are dead before and that are, I trust, in Heaven; m sure that it is not the fewer part of them that, all the e while they lived, thought in some of the things that that I think now."

Even the Utopians, aided only by their natural reason, come to a belief in such a communion. They "suppose dead to be present among them when they talk of them, ugh to the dull and feeble eyesight of mortal men they be isible. For it were an unconvenient thing that the blessed uld not be at liberty to go whither they would. And it e a point of great unkindness in them to have utterly cast ay the desire of visiting and seeing their friends . . . . there- e the Utopians go more courageously to their business as ving a trust and affiance in such overseers."[1]

A fortiori was such a faith essential to the full Christian . And when towards the end of his life the rising reformers gin to demand the spoliation of the monasteries and the ntries, St. Thomas answered not merely by denouncing iniquity of robbery or by pleading that the monastic was for certain souls a life pleasing to God. He answered denouncing not only the robbery of the living but also the bery of the dead. He shrank back almost with horror m those who were so stunted in mind that they could not derstand that by such a robbery they were destroying a rt of themselves, cutting themselves off from their own past. was amazed and shocked "that any Christian man could, very pity, have founden in his heart to seek and study e means whereby a Christian man should think it labour t to pray for all Christian souls." [2]

[1] Chap.: Of the Religions in Utopia. [2] English Works. P. 290.

To St. Thomas's mind we were in communion with Christian dead. But the introduction of this doctrine communion among the Utopians showed that St. Tho believed that it was possible to enjoy a certain commun even with those of the dead who had not been Christ In a certain sense to his mind Christendom began before birth of Christ—in the sense that Christ came into a w and a culture that had already been prepared for His Com by Almighty God. And those who under God had prepa the way for His Coming—both the Jews who to some ex knew what they did and the Greeks who knew not what t did—were in a measure sharers in the communion of Chris dom. If it was not lawful to hail them as saints, at leas was lawful to say of them as, in the old mediaeval po St. Paul said of Virgil :—

Qualem, inquit, redidissem,
Si te vivum invenissem,
Poetarum maxime.

To understand the story of Christendom it was necessary understand the story of that out of which Christendom ar Such was the Greek learning for which St. Thomas pleade a very different business from the "classical educatio which we received in its place and after his defeat.

Thus it is impossible to judge St. Thomas's controv with Henry unless we see how he, in contrast to (say) Tho Cromwell, was much more than the mere servant of the K But the very fact that he was more than the servant, m him in true judgment the more faithful servant. Tho Cromwell, teaching his Machiavellian doctrine that th was no moral authority to whom the subject could ap against the King, prepared for the day when another Crom would teach that there was no moral authority to whom King could appeal against the subject. St. Thomas was re to see in the King an officer of God, "a consecrate bein He was ready to be "the King's good and loyal servant, God's first." It would have been well for Henry and monarchy, had he been willing to accept such a loyalty.

CHRISTOPHER HOLL

PROPERTY AND THE CHURCH

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Y the Church we mean the visible organic body founded by Christ of which He is the living Head. Like all other gs this body has a nature; like all organic things this ıre has a good proper to it, which it attains by the har- ious activity of all its parts. Like all organic things substantially one, even though its constituents be many; it has one end, which unifies the diverse activity of its nbers. St. Paul calls this supernatural corporation the ly of Christ, which is a proper name shared by no other ımunity. Its end is supernatural, and the means it employs supernatural. Now this body with Christ as its Head has ınd. He selects the means, He judges what is right and ng for the welfare of the society, He determines what is d, that is, what truly perfects the nature of the organic ıg He has made and over which He presides. The Church, n, acting under the direction of its Head, bears witness the mind of Christ in each passing generation. St. Paul ches clearly that the Body of Christ is a real if mystical ng that is one, and that it is one because its members are orporated into or grafted on to Christ, and have His mind. Christians have always accepted the Pauline doctrine from earliest times. Hermas in "Pastor" (A.D. 140-155) n startles us by his bold doctrine of unity—which goes, eed, beyond the truth. He writes that the Church, like the ıpire, is a unity, but of a more radical kind—a separate, f-contained, mystical Oneness, independent of its con- tuents, organic like a society, immutable and eternal like Platonic Idea (Sim., ix, 17). As an organisation it is con- ned not merely with the spiritual welfare of its members, t also with their need of food, education and amusement. tian (c. 165 A.D.), too, describes the Christian society as vouring a universal system of homogeneous law and custom,

thus appealing cleverly to the interests of those Emperors w finding that the Greek political teaching of moderate size essential to the State was too narrow for their ambiti strove to create a centralised imperialism (Or. *Contra Grae* s.28, 29). The Emperors, however, persecuted Christia precisely for this reason, that it was, and claimed to be, *imperium in imperio*, breaking into and dissolving the s Roman organisation in which religion was entwined with civil government, the priests being ministers of the b politic in as strict a sense as the consuls were.[1]

The Church, then, is not an extrinsic thing to Christ r from the dead and sitting now at the right hand of the Fat Christ and the members united to Him by faith and bapt are the Church. The mind that is in Christ is the mind of Church, because a rational thing cannot have two mi St. Paul frequently exhorts the faithful to have the minc Christ. Now this mind is contained implicitly or explicitl certain canonical Books, and in tradition which preserves w the Church has always understood to be the mind of Ch and in a legitimate authority which on occasion defines m precisely what Christ's revelation means. The Revela given by Christ does not, of course, abrogate the nat moral law ; it affirms it and attests it, thus making it poss for men to reach quickly and in large numbers truths wh if left to themselves, they could acquire only after much trou many mistakes and long delays. Christ's authority strength the weak human reason and enables it to reach at a bou as it were, conclusions true in themselves but hidden f the weak human intellect.

Now men do claim a right to own material goods not o in the sense that they may use them for their own ben but in the sense that they may keep them and exclude ot from taking possession of them or using them whether owner be using them or not or is ever likely to use them his human needs. The right of property, into which we about to inquire, is the right to own stable, private prope

[1] This paragraph and a later one are taken from my article on " Charity in the Church " (STUDIES, March 1923).

ght that does not rest upon the title of use (for it covers is held and owned over and above the needful) but on e other title. Is this right arbitrary or sound? Is it lute?

he Church has always held that nothing is absolute except . Every right which human beings enjoy is qualified in e way—in this way at least that it should be defined and cised with due regard to God's law, whether this law be wn through reason or through revelation. Men have ts; but every finite right is participated, derived, and e is entirely original; and each such right imposes corres- ding duties. We get nothing for nothing in this world. sequently, the Church has always taught that men are vards of their goods, entrusted with their management in rdance with an objective law imposed by the Creator of Universe, Who alone is the absolute Master. Owners roperty, therefore, have certain duties imposed upon them isely because they are owners. That is the first and adest rule which restricts the right of ownership. The eme Individualist who claims that he may do what he s with his own, that he may use it or abuse it as he pleases his pleasure or profit or whim or fancy, provided he does directly injure another human being, draws at least a ty inference, because the law may not allow him as an ner to act thus.

From the outset the Church acknowledged the right of vate property. She read in the Old Testament how God given men rule and dominion over the furniture of the th; how Abraham, from whose seed the Messiah was to ing, became rich while he lived in Egypt—"he was very in possession of gold and silver" (Gen. xiii, 2), and had, ides, "sheep and oxen, and he-asses, and men-servants l maid-servants, and she-asses and camels" (Gen. xii, 16). e noticed that Deuteronomy accepts without question the t that goods are unequally divided and that some persons poor, others rich (xv, 11); that the Table of the Ten mmandments forbids stealing; that Leviticus acknowledges rights of inheritance. Our Lord, she knew, did not order

all His followers to surrender their riches, though He warn
all not to rest in them nor to be racked with anxiety about t
morrow. He gave to some the good counsel to sell all th
had in order to follow Him more closely, but He did n
exact from all this total sacrifice of their possessions as
condition of belonging to His Kingdom. But He gave to al
precept of charity, the advice to place all they had, even th
lives, at the service of others, for the reason that God W
gave gifts to all was the Father of all.

The early Christians, therefore, administered their goo
as if they were common property, not because they judg
inequality to be unjust but because they wished to carry
perfectly Our Lord's precept of charity; for charity does
weigh nicely the claims of justice before it acts, but pres
on to share benefits received far beyond the strict rights
the recipient. In the second chapter of the Acts of the Apos
there is a picture of a small community living together l
a family, united by a religious motive which filled all wit
new enthusiasm: "All they that believed were together
had all things common. Their possessions and goods t
sold and divided them to all, according as everyone had nee
(Acts, II, 44). Likewise in the Epistle to the Rom
(xv, 26): "For it hath pleased them of Macedonia
Achaia to make a contribution for the poor of the Sa
that are in Jerusalem," the contribution being made fre
for certain persons who were united to the contributors
a common faith. The faith and charity were common,
the ownership of material goods; and just because brothe
love was so ardent, the Christians placed their superflu
goods at the service of others, thus reconciling in a per
way the right of the individual to ownership and of the c
munity to use. The communism they practised was par
and discretionary. They did not renounce their right
property; they gave away freely what they did not n
for themselves, not to all and sundry, but to certain pers
whom they had freely selected for their favours.

So it continued for some time. All Christians recogn
the obligation of caring for the poorer brethren. In fact t

so eager and willing to fulfil the obligation that the ops, finding the burden of administering charitable funds heavy, consecrated deacons to assist them in carrying this duty. And in the *Didache* the Deacons are told to be eet and not to give alms to unworthy persons : " Let thy ; sweat into thy hands until thou know to whom thou art ng."

The early Christians, therefore, recognised the right of ate property, but they qualified it with the duties of ity. They were not philosophical communists, but stians practising their religion as perfectly as they could he world as they found it. Harnack, whose authority in stions of this kind is very great indeed, in answering those maintain that communism was prevalent in the early rch, says decisively : " Nothing of the kind ever existed he Gentile Church " (*Mission and Expansion of Christi-y*, Vol. I, c. 4).

The persecutions which tried the Church during the first e centuries fused the Christians into a close union by owing the rich and poor together in a common danger and providing occasions for that personal, spontaneous charity ch became more difficult when the Church came out of Catacombs and embraced by statute law the whole Roman pire and large numbers of men and women pagan in heart l individualistic in worldly affairs.

How did the Church, the Body of Christ, set about the k of converting the mass of the people to the mind of Christ ? en she ceased to be a family and became an Empire, how she secure that the rights of private property should be pected and that goods should be common in regard to use ? e Gospel, as Harnack has admitted, " is, at bottom, both ividualistic and communistic " : " the Christian faith," the words of Mgr. Batiffol, " implies not only theoretically, t practically also, an ' exterior socialisation '." How did Church safeguard at one and the same time the right of lividual owners to their property and of the community its share of the riches that grew from private ownership ?

In the first place she organised works of charity for a

supernatural motive. The pagans had practised benevole
nor was that virtue rare amongst them. There had b
public hospitals in India and Ireland long before the com
of Christ; public physicians in the Greek cities, in Marsei
and in a few other Gallic towns, and in the towns of the Ro
Province of Asia during the reign of Antoninus Pius; pu
hostels for strangers in Athens and Thebes: for it is
unnatural to be kind. The Stoics counselled kindness succ
fully enough, for we may notice a great improvement in
matter among the pagans of the early Empire. Neverthel
we must disagree with Renan and others when they con
this humanitarian benevolence with Christian charity.
was not so universal for one thing, nor so tender, nor so str
Charity, as we know it, came into the world with Christ
not before; charity as we know it has been kept alive in
world by the Body of Christ and by no other agency. U
the Church preached and imposed it as a duty, it did
attain the dignity of a distinct moral virtue. Pliny, Hadr
Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, and the spice-dealer of Lor
were generous with their money and sympathy, as Julian
Apostate was later, for political, economic, sentimental
humanitarian reasons; but when St. Basil founded his g
hospital at Caesarea he wished to succour those whom
had made in His image and whom Christ had redeemed.
Basil looked for no earthly recompense in the social or econo
improvement that might follow on his work. His hosp
and Marcus Aurelius's foundation for young girls may
compared as works of natural kindness and ingenuity,
morally they were in different planes of conduct.

In the next place, the Church enforced upon the rich
duty of distributing among the poor what the rich did
need for their own use. St. Augustine's phrase "Super
divitum necessaria pauperum" became almost a byw
Indeed, some of the Church's most eminent doctors sp
in the strongest way about the social responsibilities of
rich, so strongly that they have laid themselves open to
charge of communism. Certain Socialists, relying u
passages from Patristic writings quoted more or less accura

ebel, De Laveleye and Nitti—who in all probability got exts, directly or indirectly, from a work entitled *Traité Morale des Pères* written at the beginning of the eigh- h century by a French Calvinist named Jean Barbeyrac fond of asserting that the Fathers of the Church denied right of private property and defended ownership in non. Already in the fourteenth century Wiclif had vered that St. Augustine was a Communist (*De Civili inio*, I, 5).

he Socialists have made the common mistake of taking text away from the context. It is true that St. John sostom, St. Basil, St. Gregory of Nyssa, Clement of andria, St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory the t and St. Jerome speak as no responsible churchman d speak now for fear of being misunderstood. But there no danger of the Fathers being misunderstood in their

The Christians who heard them knew that their religion nitted private ownership; they knew how luxuriously rich lived and how destitute the poor were; they were aware that the pagans among whom they lived held and d upon the view that each one should fight for his own l and leave the result to Fate; it had not escaped their ce that the rich by fraud and force had concentrated all perty in the hands of a few; and they knew, moreover, the Fathers themselves had kept their property or a of it, but distributed much of their revenue for the relief listress. The Fathers meant to teach forcibly the truth ownership is not absolute and that the claims of the mon welfare are exacting. In the circumstances these ms were best met by the practice of charity, for that was only feasible way at the time of preventing the institution rivate property from being abused. It was the practical of teaching that deliberate co-operation among men necessary for the right ordering of human life, that the mon good will not result from a fight in which the fittest y survive, that it is impossible to combine successfully various contrasted interests of self-seekers unless a motive her than self-interest keeps selfishness in its place. The

sufficient virtue for that is, in all conditions, the virtu
Christian charity: in the fourth and fifth centuries it
the only virtue that could effectively stir the conscienc
owners to have some concern for the welfare and need
others.

The Fathers, moreover, expressed their minds about
perty in other places than in the passages cited by Barbey
We will take St. Augustine as an example. In his time t
was extant a whole Pelagian literature on the rights of
perty. Between A.D. 418-427 Agricola summarised the te
ing of his sect in a work entitled *De Divitiis*, in which
confidently appealed to early Christian practice, the Sc
tures and the Fathers in proof that the early Christ
believed that no rich man, no holder of even modest we
could enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Now the Go
Agricola says, is in accord with the natural law; for
Who is just, gave all things in common—air, light, the l
the bounty of the earth, thus manifesting His will that g
should be divided equally. Unequal division has come a
and private property has been set up by departing from
natural law, by injustice and usurpation. Suppress this ri
dispossess the rich, make an equal division, level down econo
difference, and everyone will have what is necessary—w
is what God intends. The right to private property is, th
fore, illusory, and almsgiving is only the poulticing o
ulcer. Agricola did not quote St. Augustine in suppor
his opinion, as the Socialists have done since, because Au
tine was alive and an opponent of the Pelagian heresy
along the line.

In particular, Augustine is at open variance with Pela
communism in his 85th, 113th and 178th sermon. W
Hilarius wrote asking, among other things, what he was
say to those Syracusans who maintained that a rich r
keeping his wealth could not enter the Kingdom of Hea
even if he observed the commandments, Augustine rep
at some length, scoffing at the Pelagian interpretation
early Christian practice and teaching. You might just
well argue, he says, that all men ought to commit sui

ıse Our Lord advised each one to hate his own soul. ıe end he dismisses the Syracusans by saying that they ı revolt against the " sana doctrina."

When the catastrophe that Augustine feared came to and the Barbarians broke the Roman Empire to pieces, Church set her hand to the task of rebuilding the western d. The work was done in great part by the monks. The dictines and Cistercians cleared the land, drained it, increased the yield by improving the art of agriculture. ıgh the monks owned property as communities, they kept a small part of their revenues for personal use; they ibuted the remainder among their dependants and the . Their ownership and labour had a threefold quality: as religious, it was disinterested, and it was co-operative. ı monastery became a productive centre for a whole ıtryside, not only feeding the people but teaching them stian morals and the arts of peace as well. The monks the foundations of Christendom in their farms and schools, giving instruction in their schools free of charge and by ıinistering their estates with a due regard both for private public needs. Christendom was founded in settled and ered communities upon the exercise of Christian charity: the monks worked not only for themselves but also for ers; and the civil corporations, taking their cue from the ıastic establishments, recognised and protected the rights rivate ownership without forgetting that the community the right of use. What began in charity grew into custom, long-standing custom has the force of law. The para- ınt social custom regarded a claim to absolute ownership unjust and gave rise to other customs by which such a m could be legally defeated or, at least, greatly impeded. lividualism, and the subjective motives as dear to the lividualist, were both immoral and illegal.

Europe in the Middle Ages was called Christendom because ıcknowledged a common moral code and a single authority eligious matters—the moral code and the religious authority the Church—and because it reflected in its social, political d economic structure the mind of the Church about per-

sonal responsibility and worldly wealth. If a man of prop
at the time asked advice about the management of his temp
affairs, he would have been told something like this :—"
may apply a part of your revenue to your own use. In deci
how much you should put aside for this purpose you must
into account the fact that you are a member of the Bod
Christ, that you have been engrafted on to Christ, Wh
always 'The Crucified.' You must, therefore, practise
denial. Then you must respect the *aestimatio communi*
public opinion, which allows and, indeed, wishes you to m
the expenditure necessary for the upkeep of an establishm
suitable to your rank. You should give what is over
above to the poor. You may not increase your wealth
the use of means—lawful, perhaps, in themselves—w
take from others what is necessary for maintaining t
position, and thus upset the balance of the social order."
the person seeking guidance had consulted Henry of
genstein,[1] he would have received very strict precepts.
would have been told that anyone who, after he has satis
his needs, continues to work so as to gain more wealth, ei
in order to attain a higher social position or to make his
richer or more powerful than himself, was guilty of ava
sensuality or pride. The French preachers of the eighte
century[2] took the same rigid view, and the Italian Seg
allows a man to improve his condition only if he does
thereby alter his social rank, and mistrusts "a peasant
seeks to become a citizen, a citizen who seeks to becon
knight, ... a knight who seeks to become a ruler."[3]
all, however, interpreted social justice so narrowly.
Bernardino of Sienna, for instance, prefers a man to en
himself in order to profit his neighbour by new enterpr
rather than to sit idle for fear of becoming too rich.
Pius XI in the *Quadragesimo Anno* has followed St. Bernar
rather than the others, conforming, at the same time, to
general principles of social justice, for he goes on to say

[1] *Tractatus bipartitus de Contractibus Emptionis et Venditionis*, published in 1483 a
the works of Gerson. Henry died in 1397.
[2] Fanfani : *Catholicism, Protestantism and Capitalism*, p. 130.
[3] Quaresimale : Sermon 20 : Vol. II., p. 196.

increased wealth is lawful "provided always that in ng it one respects the laws of God and the rights of others, ıses his property in accord with faith and right reason." ıdays no Catholic moralist teaches the severe opinion me of the earlier writers. All, as far as I know, agree Cardinal Gaetano that a man endowed with exceptional ties may lawfully seek the wealth that will win him a ion compatible with his qualities.[1]

ristendom, therefore, was not based upon commerce pon the usages that make commerce lucrative, but upon ıte ownership, personal and corporate responsibility, and ctled order in which each person and each employment pied a certain rank within the organic unity of the body ic. Those who owned property (which meant, in those , land) held it lawfully not because they had been able cquire it, but because they undertook to render certain ces to the community in return. "In the Middle Age," es Père de Pascal, "nobody recognised a quiritary, that n absolute right of property superior to the rights of ty. Property in land was essentially a benefice. The er did not hold land only by virtue of an individual right, rather by virtue of the duty he performed. Property the permanent reward of social service rendered" losophie Morale et Sociale*, p. 456). The earth was regarded kind of social fund, as the capital of the human race, ded for its better administration among owners who were artners not merely juxtaposed but co-ordinated in ascend- degrees and disciplined by custom and law to have regard only for private profit but also for the public welfare. earth was, as it were, mortgaged; it carried, for those had received parcels of it as owners, certain charges osed in order that all men should have the means of decent lihood, as St. Thomas put it. Thus the king, the bishop, the ɔn, the lawyer, the priest, the peasant, the artisan and the possessed what each required for the upkeep of his status ɔrding to an accepted social standard: they each lived on nore or less fixed endowment. What was superfluous

[1] Comm. in St. Thomam, II-II, Q. 118, a. 1.

belonged to others, and each owner should see that the oth who were chiefly the poor, received their share. No right property can disqualify other men from living.

The manorial system, the communes, the guilds w instruments for the execution of social justice, and they put a check to individual greed. They restricted the econo freedom of owners, and thus restricted economic inequal They ruled out certain means of enrichment as imm because unsocial, because they recognised a claim on goods the part of third parties not their possessors, and they not think it lawful for their possessor to use them so as obtain an unlimited increase at ever diminishing cost. T endeavoured to make the price of an article correspond its cost of production rather than to its value in gen estimation. They sought to equate wages rather to the ne of the worker than to his output. In short, in the Mi Ages the moralist played a large part in rationalising econo life, and extra-economic criteria became effective because t were guaranteed by use and custom, by the laws of the Ch and by the civil laws. The man who acted as capita behave to-day would have been regarded as a sinner; many of those who acted thus in the Middle Ages repe at least on their death-beds and made restitution. economic system set limits to the increase and to the pri use of an owner's wealth by forcing upon him certain rest tions not in themselves pertaining to abstract econom The Middle Ages would not have looked with favour u the labour of the many abstract economists who are so emi in our own times.

The Scholastic theologians and philosophers endeavou to rationalise still further the social system in which t lived by defining the natural laws upon which it rested. W were the ultimate reasons which justified private owner as a social institution, that is, which enabled men lawf to own and administer their possessions both for their private advantage and for the common welfare? God g the earth to mankind without earmarking any portion c for particular persons. How comes it that particular per

own certain portions lawfully without destroying the ion right of mankind to the earth and its fruits? They ed that the law of nature at least permitted private rship, though Scotus denied that private ownership l be legitimate if man had not fallen from grace; and agreed that after the Fall the law of nature made it rative for men to divide the earth's riches. Thus the ution of private property was prescribed not directly immediately by the natural law, since in the state of ence communism was possible and legitimate, but the al law laid on fallen man the obligation of recognising te ownership for the better administration of the earth's h and for the order, peace and security of the com- ty. Private ownership originated, therefore, in human not indeed in statute law, but in the *ius gentium* which introduced by use and custom. The rights conceded by *ius gentium* were qualified, restricted and defined by the nal paramount right of the community to benefit from iches of the earth, and therefore the rights of individual rs had to be determined in such a way that they brought t to the community as a whole and did not injure it. Scholastics would have agreed with Professor Gilbert ay that in the last resort "the principle of private pro- begins much more as a prohibition against grabbing as an encouragement to grab." In other words, use custom introduced the *ius gentium* because men saw that uld be better if egotism had its vent within a community h had not surrendered its right to profit by the industry energy of individuals and was prepared to enforce its ns by custom and statute prohibiting owners from pur- g their private interests remorselessly.

Thus the Scholastics showed that private ownership was imate, that the laws which controlled its exercise were nal, and that social justice was a natural virtue distinct commutative and distributive justice, and from charity. s significant that St. Thomas More, in describing the ilosophical city" of Utopia whose inhabitants are heathen rant of revealed truth and whose constitution is the work

of reason alone, argues the claims of justice and sets up polity in a common life grounded upon religion and so justice.

The Scholastic thinkers saw a social order whose unity diversity came in the first instance from the practice o supernatural charity. "In the monastic institution Edmund Burke wrote, "there was a great *power* for mechanism of public benevolence, what our workmen wo call a *purchase*. There were revenues with a public directi there were men without the possibility of converting the es into a private fortune. In vain shall a man look for possibility of making such things when he wants them. winds blow as they list. These institutions are the prod of enthusiasm; they are the instruments of wisdom." monastic institutions gave to the world in practice the exar of communities in which private right was respected public right recognised. The Scholastics, guided by f and by the exacting claims of charity, gave to the world concept of social justice defined and justified by rea That is their great service to mankind. They did not discover this virtue and then ascend through it to disc charity. They descended on to it from above. "He doth truth cometh to the light" (John, iii, 21). Soc they said, is built on two pillars, on charity and justice; the supernatural faith which told them that charity was greatest of the virtues, helped them to lay bare the founda in reason of that legal justice which is necessary for fixed balanced order. It is a striking example of how revela helps the human intellect to acquire truths which are w its power to discover, but which, in fact, escape it if i left unaided.

In defining social justice they were able to explain intrinsic principles of limitation in regard to ownership the use of temporal possessions. The Scholastics, lik good philosophers, were much concerned about the intr principles that limit all finite things, but they searched objective principles. They had no liking for the subje criteria in favour with Descartes, Kant, Hegel and wit

y still, because, in the first place, that is not metaphysics, in the second place these subjective criteria cannot be ersal, with the result that if some limit must be found, ın only be found in some extrinsic principle—it can be ed only in Force. The intrinsic principle of limitation as rds ownership of property was the law which restricted ty in the moral order; and the law imposed certain es, some arising from charity, some from the precept of denial, some from the *ius gentium*, some from other oms founded in public opinion, some from the laws which st ruler, looking both to private advantage and to public -being, made for the commonweal. "It is therefore," Thomas said succinctly, "far better that there should be ate property, but that goods should be common in regard se. How the use of private property is to be made common ıe task of a good lawgiver" (Pol. ii, c, 4).

I have said that the great Schoolmen derived both the t of private property and the boundaries of that right in ice from law: the right of mankind in general to subsist the earth's riches they derived directly from the natural , the right of individuals to own and administer certain tions of the earth's wealth they derived from positive ıan law set up by use and custom, founded in nature, and ome sense necessary for social order after the Fall. Whether ıot this is the correct interpretation of the Scholastic teach- and whether, if correct, the philosophical explanation en by the Schoolmen is admissible nowadays, are disputed stions among Catholics. What is certain is that the School- ı made explicit the concept of social justice contained licitly in the Christian law of charity and brotherly love the lesser is contained in the greater. Catholic teaching r since has insisted that the claims of social justice must met fairly, if men are to live together in peaceful pros- ity; and social justice can be observed only in a society ere private property as a legitimate institution is directed law and custom—by the social and economic system, as should say now—to promote the public good.

J. E. Canavan

MR. PAKENHAM ON THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY*

BY DESMOND FITZGERALD, T.D.

THE British Government's proposals, in the summe 1921, to negotiate a peace with Ireland mark a point in Irish history. They found Mr. de Valera at the h of the Dáil Cabinet in Dublin. He had been back in Ire from America for some six months. He was known moderate man, and his knowledge of the situation made fully aware that a settlement was desirable. When he gated Arthur Griffith to take charge of affairs during absence in America, he had shown his wish that mod counsels should prevail.

Nobody had any doubts as to Griffith's views. He quite prepared to accept membership for Ireland in the Br Commonwealth of Nations. Those who knew Michael C only by hearsay took it for granted that he was an irre cilable. But those who were his intimate friends knew Collins was conscious of his responsibility to the Irish pe and that he was anxiously considering whether the peo powers of endurance had not reached its limit. Cathal Bru on the other hand, was a convinced irreconcilable—who ag indeed to the truce, but only because it offered a breat space, a respite during which arms could be acquired. tracted negotiations favoured his plans. Now and agai intervened in the correspondence with Mr. Lloyd Ge insisting on the inclusion or omission of certain phr Brugha was supported by Austin Stack; but they we minority of two in the Cabinet.

The reader may well wonder why Cathal Brugha's o sition was not simply voted down in the Cabinet. Bu must realise the delicate position. It was essential tha negotiations should begin without the Irish Cabinet ha

* *Peace by Ordeal.—An account from first-hand Sources of the Negotiation and Si of the Anglo-Irish Treaty*, 1921. By Frank Pakenham. (Cape. 1935. 15/- net).

mitted itself to anything less than complete autonomy.
; a majority would accept less was a fact; but an open
on this issue would at once strengthen the hands of the
ish. During the long correspondence between Mr. Lloyd
rge and Mr. de Valera, though the former repeatedly
l to get the symbol of the Crown accepted as a basis of
otiation, Mr. de Valera never formally accepted this basis.
ause of offence must be given to the intransigent minority,
it was to placate them that Mr. de Valera's letter of
tember 12 contained the celebrated second paragraph
ch led to a deadlock that was only overcome by the
nious method of starting again with a new invitation.

This situation in the Cabinet, which was unknown to the
lic, was a cause of serious embarrassment. Everybody
pected Brugha as a man of fearless courage; but no weight
; attached to his judgment. His opposition, however,
; sufficient to prevent any calm debate on the question
accepting something less than complete autonomy. To
gest any compromise in the interests of a greater good was
ays liable to move Brugha to issue an ultimatum and
se a public split, and this Mr. de Valera was most anxious
avoid. He saw the consequences—or rather the dangerous
sibilities; for with Brugha in revolt and convinced that
could secure the Republic, no one could foresee what action
might take. The effort to placate him and Stack is visible
every answer sent by Mr. de Valera to Mr. Lloyd George.
ch letter had to be couched in terms which, on the one
nd, would not offend Brugha and which, on the other hand,
uld not cause a break with the British. The method adopted
s to avoid any positive statement that might offend either.
us it will be seen that the word "Republic" is never used,
ile nothing is said that directly implies a readiness to
ept the Crown.

During the long period of correspondence the Irish Cabinet
s beset with many difficulties. Within its own ranks there
s Cathal Brugha determined to prevent the acceptance of
y settlement less than the Republic, while Mr. Lloyd
orge (as Mr. Pakenham says) "pledges his Government
discuss no settlement which involves a refusal on the part

of Ireland to accept free equality and loyal partnership the British Commonwealth." As already stated, Ca Brugha was supported all through in his uncompromi attitude by Austin Stack. With this attitude Griffith little sympathy; he never concealed the fact that he had rooted objection to the Crown. For him as for Brugha Republic was the ideal; but he was not prepared to sacr the possible to the impossible. Brugha often put his patie to a severe test; but his anxiety to meet the wishes of de Valera, who sought at all costs to avoid a public s restrained him.

The relations between Brugha and Collins were also a thing but amicable, and this was often painfully eviden Cabinet meetings during 1920. Brugha was Minister Defence, and Collins was Minister for Finance. But Co was also Director of Intelligence, and in that capacity soon became the great force in the military operations. Mr. Pakenham writes, "Collins's personality impressed it on so many that his name, not Brugha's, became the leg in the countryside. It was he, not Brugha, that the milit leaders were anxious to see when they visited Dublin instructions" (p. 94). All this did not conduce to frien relations, and it made Mr. de Valera's task of preventin split all the more difficult. However, Mr. de Valera considerable influence over Brugha and Stack, and they w anxious to avoid a break with him.

When the Dáil met, members were due to take the o to the Republic. This oath had already been made an ins ment of propaganda against the possible settlement v England, and it was certain that a similar use would be m of it in the coming months. Mr. de Valera recognised situation. He, therefore, prefaced his action in taking oath by declaring that, in doing so, he bound himself only do what he considered best for Ireland in the given circu stances. Those who had looked forward to using the o as a stick with which to beat their opponents, had to acc this declaration—which practically meant that they w disarmed. Mr. de Valera also told the Dáil that he did regard its members as representing the Irish people—t

sented only the left wing of the Irish people—but as dent he had to consider the good of the people as a whole. as not going to put himself in the ridiculous position of ngine running away without its train.

When he made these statements, Mr. de Valera had pro- already decided not to take charge of the negotiations. as defending those who were to take that responsibility. n, when urged in the Dáil to go to London himself, he another opportunity to prepare the ground—" whoever must compromise," he said. And he went on to point that, even when compromise had been made, the nego- ons might fail. In that case it would probably be necessary eturn once more to the ways of war. But you cannot for a compromise. If they had to take the field again, would have to take it for the Republic, and he wished e available to rally the people.

Ir. Pakenham has failed to understand the situation at time. This is probably due to the fact that documents not available to him. Indeed there is no complete mentation of that time. Certain points remain unex- ied, and at best the historian will have to rely upon con- ure. Why did Mr. de Valera select Arthur Griffith as rman of the Plenipotentiaries ; for Griffith never lost an ortunity of declaring that he would not break on the vn ? Those who accept Mr. Pakenham's version of the y will be puzzled to explain this. I do not accept his ion, and many others will not accept it. But the real tery was the assent of Cathal Brugha to the selection of fith. Brugha was essentially a man of " one track " mind. was not only ready but anxious to give up his life in the t, and this he thought a sufficient answer to any reasoned ument. The Republic, one and undivided, was his ideal ; thing less he doggedly refused to consider. How then he agree that Griffith should take charge of the nego- ions and that the Irish representatives should have pleni- entiary powers ? Perhaps he was convinced that in Dublin would be able to thwart or make void their work in London. if he had that object in view, he should have insisted t they be given something less than plenipotentiary powers.

Mr. Pakenham makes no reference to any such proposa
the part of Brugha, and I am not aware of any such prop
In any case, he would have found Mr. de Valera adar
on that point. Mr. de Valera insisted that the Irish r
sentatives should be plenipotentiaries in the full sense o
word, that their powers should be ratified by the Dáil,
that the Irish people should be informed that they poss
these powers. All this may well have had the ulterior pu
of depriving Brugha of the power to interfere. That
general mass of the people were desperately anxious in
for a settlement there is no doubt, and there is also no d
that the majority of the Dáil fully realised how v
necessary a settlement was. In these circumstances
denunciations from Cathal Brugha would have little w
in the Dáil against the combined forces of de Valera, Gr
and Collins.

The Irish Delegates received from their Govern
Credentials constituting them "Envoys Plenipotentiary
the elected Government of the Republic in Ireland to
tiate and conclude with the representatives of His Brit
Majesty George V, a Treaty or Treaties of association
accommodation between Ireland and the Communit
Nations known as the British Commonwealth." But
Delegates also received from their Government *Instru*
to keep the Cabinet in Dublin duly informed of each impo
step in the negotiations and not to sign the final draft T
without submitting it to Dublin and awaiting a r
Different interpretations can be put on these *Instruc*
A rigid interpretation is not reconcilable with the *Crede*
quoted above, which conferred the full powers of Ple
tentiaries on the Delegates. Such an interpretation v
mean that the final decision would be made by the Min
at home, while the Plenipotentiaries would have to a
responsibility for this decision whether they agreed wi
or not. Griffith was quick to realise this danger, and ac
ingly he made it clear that he would accept the *Instru*
only as guiding principles, not as mandatory. He recog
the shadow of Cathal Brugha over these *Instructions*,
he was prepared to make all reasonable concessions to pl

irreconcilable; but he was ultimately responsible to the people, not to Cathal Brugha—nor even to the Irish net.

The task placed on the shoulders of the Plenipotentiaries by its very nature, fraught with almost insuperable ulties. From the Act of Union in 1800 up to a few years e the Treaty in 1921, the British had resisted the demand ven partial autonomy. Now they had to be persuaded ant, if not all symbols of complete autonomy, at least the tance. The disparity in material resources between the sides was such that if the British refused to move beyond rtain point, the Irish could not force them by any threat rrible sanctions. In the past they had been deaf to the ns of justice; now they agreed to negotiate in order to ate public opinion in the world generally and in their own ntry in particular. But the Irish Plenipotentiaries were e conscious of the fact that this public opinion could be ated by an offer from the British of something less than plete autonomy, and the British were equally conscious is fact. If the Irish, therefore, broke on the mere question ymbols and brought on a renewal of the war, they felt that would no longer have the sympathy of the world in their ggle. But there was an irreconcilable element at home ly to face all these consequences, and the Plenipotentiaries to take this element into consideration. To assist them their effort to steer between Scylla and Charybdis, Mr. Valera drafted a type of agreement to serve as a sort of m for the Plenipotentiaries. In so far as the final settle- it approximated to the suggestions in that document, it likely to overcome the opposition of the extremists. en the Plenipotentiaries entered on the negotiations with British, they had only a portion of this document, and sequently they had to employ dilatory tactics.

Difficulties did not decrease as the negotiations progressed. out ten days after the opening of the conference, Pope nedict XV sent a telegram to King George, to which the ter replied: "I have received the message of your Holiness h much pleasure, and with all my heart I join in your yer that the conference . . . . may achieve a permanent

settlement of the troubles in Ireland and may initiate a
era of peace and happiness for my people." The wo
"troubles in Ireland" and "my people" had implicat
which gave offence in Ireland. Mr. de Valera immedia
sent a long telegram to the Pope, of which the following is
extract: "The people of Ireland . . . . are confident that
ambiguities in the reply sent in the name of King Ge
will not mislead you into believing that the troubles ar
Ireland or that the people of Ireland owe allegiance to
British King. The independence of Ireland has been form
proclaimed. . . . The trouble is between England and Irel
and its source is that the rulers of Britain have endeavo
to impose their will upon Ireland." That was a bomb
thrown into the conference in London. Its necessity
anything but apparent, and consequently it both annc
and embarrassed Griffith. Was Mr. de Valera changing u
the pressure of the extremists, or was the telegram just
more effort to placate them, to keep them quiet—a b
thrown to Cerberus? Griffith did not know; but he did
best to explain the telegram to the British, and he succe
in calming the troubled waters. It is to the eternal great
of Griffith that he never forgot that he was a Plenipotent
of the Irish people and that he was ultimately responsibl
them alone.

As time progressed, things did not become easier for
Delegation in London. The change of mind at home
reflected in London. Childers was only Secretary to
Delegation and was therefore free from the heavy resp
sibility of the Plentipotentiaries, but he seemed hardly av
of that. He had adopted the Irish cause in accordance v
certain principles to which he was deeply attached.
admired the heroism that had been so marked a feature
the recent struggle. He affirmed his principles as a relig
faith. Compromise meant recantation and apostasy.
Pakenham quotes Mr. Lloyd George's appreciation of
in the *Daily Telegraph*: "Brave and resolute he was
doubtedly, but unhappily for himself also rigid and fanatic
The relations between him and Griffith were not cordial.
Secretary to the Delegation he was not Griffith's cho

ı the Dáil, 15 December 1921, the latter stated : " I was :man of the Delegation of which Childers, not with my ɔval, was Secretary." Though a first cousin of Robert on and brought up with the Bartons at Glendalough, lers was for Griffith an Englishman and, as Mr. Pakenham " Griffith had no use for Englishmen in Ireland."

'he relations between Griffith and Mr. Gavan Duffy were not very cordial. It is unnecessary to go into the why the wherefore. Mr. Gavan Duffy had acted for a time as envoy in Paris ; but the French Government took rage at some action of his and requested him to leave country. On his return home he made a speech in the on this affront to the Irish nation and demanded a formal est from the Irish Government. Mr. Griffith pointed out the action of the French Government was a natural ıel to Mr. Gavan Duffy's imprudent action, and that in case it would be foolish for Ireland, now in her hour of l, to alienate a friendly nation. Perhaps Mr. Griffith was e vigorous in his language than the incident demanded, erhaps Mr. Gavan Duffy was over-sensitive. Mr. Pakenham es (p. 133) : " Gavan Duffy was more sensitive and highly ng than his colleagues." At any rate Griffith's words n to have long rankled in his soul.

In the chapter entitled " The Signing," Mr. Pakenham otes a dramatic page to the struggle in Mr. Barton's mind ɔre he agreed to sign, whereas of Gavan Duffy he merely s : " Duggan joined Griffith and Collins in wishing to ı ; Gavan Duffy joined Barton in condemning any such rayal of the Republic . . . . If he (Barton) signed, Gavan ffy could hardly stand out." Barton finally agreed to ı, and " Gavan Duffy's position was now impossible. ne minutes later he too waived his objections " (p. 305). e description of the struggle in the mind of Mr. Barton is re dramatic than the reality. Whatever struggle there s must be attributed to the inspiration of Erskine Childers her than to personal convictions. As time went on in ndon Mr. Barton became more and more the disciple of ilders. Long before the negotiations came to an end it was ken for granted, whenever he offered a suggestion or made

a proposal, that he was merely acting as a mouthpiece Childers.

Mr. Pakenham's book reveals much that was not kn to the public, and it is a valuable contribution to the his of our time. But the author omits many vital facts wrongly interprets others. In the absence of documents may have been more or less inevitable. There are quest to which no answer perhaps can ever be given, as the ques why Cathal Brugha agreed to the selection of Arthur Grif It is certain that Brugha had no intention of compromi one inch. Why then did he agree to the selection of a Pl potentiary who made no secret of the fact that he was re to compromise? Having a "one-track mind," perhaps concentrated that mind solely on the necessity of tim re-organize and re-equip the army. When he had that acc plished, he could then concentrate in forcing Griffith Collins to break off negotiations. He may have hoped t in the absence of Griffith and Collins in London, he would the support of Mr. de Valera for this plan. How far Bru was responsible for a change of mind in Mr. de Valera mystery which we leave to posterity to solve; but if he hoped to force Griffith and Collins to break off negotiat against their own judgment, then he misjudged these two g men.

To these two great men Mr. Pakenham pays the gene tribute: "It (the Treaty) bore, too, the signatures of two greatest Irishmen who ever died for Ireland, perh the two greatest men in all history who ever died to kee hard-wrung a pledge" (p. 308). Unfortunately nei Griffith nor Collins is the hero of Mr. Pakenham's *Peac Ordeal*. If he had made either the hero, he would have avo certain wrong interpretations of facts, would have ap tioned blame where blame was certainly due, and would l made a more valuable contribution to Irish history. narrative, however, is eminently readable.

DESMOND FITZGERA

IOHANNES SCOTTUS ERIUGENA *

BY DENIS S. NERNEY, S.J.

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nay be doubted whether there is any Christian scholar f Western Europe, equal in genius and prestige with nes Scottus Eriugena, of whom history has so little r and legend and conjecture so much. His name, his s, his profession, the authenticity of a number of works uted to him, his opinions, the time of his birth and his have all in various ways and degrees given rise to a of conflicting views that leave him less a man than an et shade that troubles the half-light of history. Thus ame Eriugena has been derived from Ayr in Scotland, a certain Eriuven in Hereford, and even from *Ἠριγενής*— e ground apparently of his predilection for Greek studies. is been claimed as a Scotsman, an Englishman, a Welsh- nd an Irishman. Bale and others make him a student of , Chaldean and Arabic at Athens; he has been named as the founder of Paris and Oxford Universities. His l in France has been linked by Heiric of Auxerre with d of mass emigration of Irish scholars to the Continent e invitation of Charles the Bald [1]; while Warren con- d him a refugee from the Danish wars. Was he a pro- at the Palatine school? Tradition answers in the native, but the available evidence is not altogether con- e. Was he a man of the Church? There seems to be no ve ground for thinking that he was a monk; and he t have been in orders when Prudentius of Troyes re- s his layman's temerity in standing out against authori- e doctrines.[2] As regards Eriugena's authentic works,

m M. Cappuyns O.S.B., *Jean Scot Erigène* (Louvain, 1933). Hereafter cited as D.C.

Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, paene totam cum grege phorum ad littora nostra migrantem. Quorum quisquis peritior est, ultro sibi exsilium, ut Salamoni sapientissimo famuletur ad votum. *De Vita S. Germani,* ledic. ML 134, 1133."

. . . Quis enim te barbarum, et nullis ecclesiasticae dignitatis gradibus insignitum quam a catholicis insigniendum, adversus Romanae urbis et apostolicae sedis m Gregorium, et eius sicut doctrinae es fidei, ita dignitatis et officiis ocium, beatum t Isidorum episcopum, audiat oblatrantem?" *De Praedestinatione contra I.* , ML 115, 1043. D. C. shows that *gradus* refers to orders, not ecclesiastical dig- n the modern sense, p. 67, note 2. It is possible that E. became a deacon or priest r life: his growing preoccupation with theology and his homily on the prologue John support that view.

a final judgment on a number of points must be def
until Dom Cappuyns's critical edition becomes avail
Meanwhile it seems that the list of writings attribute
one time or another to Eriugena must be considerably
tailed, not always to his disadvantage. A *Liber Iohi
Scoti* was condemned by the Council of Vercelli at the
of the Berengarian controversy; but it was Ratramnus
wrote it, not Eriugena. Other works that have been attri
to Eriugena include *De Officiis Humanis, Tractatus in
haeum, De Officiis Divinis, Commentarii Scripturarum,
phrastici Tomi, De Immaculatis Mysteriis, De Fide c
Barbaros, Dogmata Philosophorum et adhuc alia, Disp
quaedam cum Theododo Studita* and *Commentum Boethii.*
these D. C. says briefly: " Il faut les déclarer en bloc, cro
nous, inauthentiques."[1] As to his death history has no
to say, but legend is not silent. John of Malmesbury b
Eriugena to his own monastery in the days of Alfred
adds that he died there: " a pueris grafiis perforatur."
fiery light (lucem igneam) about his tomb at night inc
the monks to grant him sepulture in the principal ch
with this epitaph :—

> Conditur hoc tumulo sanctus sophista Iohannes,
> Qui ditatus est vivens iam dogmate miro.
> Martirio tandem meruit conscendere coelum
> Quo semper cuncti regnent per saecula sancti.[2]

Trittheim has the same legend, but makes him bish
Mecklenburg.[4] Finally he appeared for a space in the R
Martyrology, November 10th, with this notice: " E
die S. Ioannis Scoti, qui grafiis puerorum confossus, ma
coronam adeptus est.[5]

These obscurities and uncertainties, though regret
are not altogether unintelligible in view of the state o
sources. But it is less easy to understand how Eriug

[1] D.C. p. 182.
[2] Will. Malmes. *De Gestis Pont. Angl.* 5, 4 ML 179, 1653.
[3] Will. Malmes. ibid.
[4] *De Viris Illustribus O.S.B.* 3, 212 is cited by D. C.
[5] Text given by D. C. from the *Martyrologium Romanum*, Antwerp 1586; cf. note 2.

works, *De Praedestinatione* and *De Divisione Naturae*, ted even that the latter has long been and still is on the x, have given rise to so many extravagant and conflicting pretations. He has been regarded as the pioneer of inalism, for instance; and yet he has been called a Neo- onist and Monist of the Alexandrian school—a redoubtable of eclecticism for the most independent mind of the age. irers have classed him with Aristotle, Plato, Clement of andria and St. Augustine among the ancients; and with niz, Hegel, Fichte, Schelling, Kant and Schopenhauer ng moderns; in fact there is hardly a modern thinker of whose alleged spiritual affinities with Eriugena have not exploited by non-Catholic historians of philosophy. ally, we should not omit the climax which the reader must ly have been anticipating: Eriugena's relegation to the ex has gained for him a place in the martyrology of modern osophy.[1] Most of these appraisements are rendered roughly suspect by their very extravagance and tenden- sness. Nor is this surprising seeing that they emanate n sources that had all the scientific equipment of the time nderstand Eriugena except the one thing without which rest is of little avail—we mean the Faith, or at least some rejudiced insight into the supernatural world within which ugena thought and lived. And it is the merit of Dom puyns's learned and sympathetic study that it not only vides us with an historical framework, a critical apparatus doctrinal analysis, but that it preserves throughout that holic sense of proportion, coolness of judgment and right lerstanding of doctrine without which it is impossible to reciate either the merits or the defects of Iohannes Scottus ugena. With D.C.'s help we propose to summarise such stworthy information as we have on his life and works.

We have no information at all as to the year in which ugena was born or in which he died. " Jean Scot disparaît la scène de l'histoire," writes D. C., " comme il y est entré : stérieusement."[2] The only possible chronology is based his literary career, which can be assigned approximately

[1] B. Hauréau cited by D. C. p. 264. [2] p. 233.

to the period 850-870. The first work of Eriugena that possess is the *De Praedestinatione*, a contribution to a con versy that can be fairly accurately dated. The publica of this work, towards the end of 850 or the beginning of 8 marks his entry into the world of letters. Hence it is rea able to suppose that he was born in the first quarter of ninth century: an estimate wide enough to allow for a development of his genius or a tardy opportunity to make of it. On the other hand the *Expositiones super Hierarch Caelestem* with the Homily and Commentary on S. J belong to the period 865-870;[2] and as nothing of a later is extant and nothing more is heard of Eriugena, we can conclude that he died about the beginning of the last qua of the ninth century.

As to Eriugena's nationality, D. C. concludes from a su of the evidence: "Ainsi donc Jean Scot est né en Irla Cela ne fait pas de doute."[3] The grounds of this conclu are, first, contemporary testimony and, secondly, the s ficance of the name Scottus Eriugena.

The first of these sources yields evidence which is qu tatively slight but otherwise adequate; against it the no countervailing evidence of equal antiquity and auth and indeed no serious argument at all. The chief witn Prudentius of Troyes: his testimony is decisive becaus was Eriugena's friend.[4] In his *De Praedestinatione C I. Scottum* he has this well known passage: "Te s omnium acutissimum Galliae transmisit Hibernia, ut nullus absque te scire poterat, tuis eruditionibus obtine sed absit ut Celtica eloquentia tot tantisque fluviorum e dationibus debriata tuas nubilationes admittat . . ."[5]

[1] p. 111. D. C.'s dating is followed here and elsewhere in this article.
[2] p. 229. [3] p. 9.
[4] "Blasphemias tuas, Iohannes, atque impudentias . . . eo molestius accepi, familiarius amplectebar, peculiarius diligebam," he writes in the first chapter of *Praedestinatione contra I. Scottum*, ML 115, 1012.
[5] In confirmation of Prudentius one might adduce the Third Council of Valen 855) which refers to the 19 chapters of *De Praedestinatione* in can. 4 and in can. matises its doctrine as "pultes Scottorum": "Ineptas autem quaestiunculas, et pene fabulas, Scotorumque pultes puritati fidei nauseam inferentes . . . penitus mus . . . ." Harduin, *Concilia* V, 91; Denz.-Bann. 325. How could the Fathers Council, deliberating not far from Orange, where Pelagianism had been condem the redaction of a canon wherein the authority of the Synod of Orange is invoked a their adversary, resist the temptation to revive S. Jerome's mordant phrase, if the

nbiguous, deliberate statement of a first hand witness Eriugena was an Irishman is not only altogether uncon-iicted by any other contemporary testimony, but is solidly irmed by all available evidence of the period.

The evidence of name justifies a like conclusion. Here e are a number of variants; but the variety does not a certain uniformity and special significance, and actually s to reinforce rather than to weaken the argument. In etters and poems the author often calls himself Iohannes, etimes adding thereto an incidental but anonymous het such as servus devotus, extremus philosophiae studen-1, extremus servorum. In the poetic preface to his trans-on of the works of the pseudo-Dionysius he describes self as advena Iohannes[1]: a designation which, if it does dissipate all anonymity, shows at least that he was not a ve of Charles's kingdom, which included most of modern nce, the Spanish March and Flanders. But the title to *Caelesti Hierarchia* is more informative, as therein the ior calls himself Iohannes Eriugena.[2] This name was

was a Scot? On the other hand if the author of *De Praedestinatione* was not known d out of the Council as "genere Scottus," the phrase is either less apposite or alto-r irrelevant. Against this it may be urged that S. Jerome flung the phrase at a n and not at a Scot; for surely, if Marius Mercator, Orosius, S. Augustine and S. er of Acquitaine knew Pelagius for a Briton, it is unlikely that S. Jerome thought Scot. Cf. *Realencyklopädie für Prot. Theol.* (1904) XV, 751, where Loofs argues, ssfully we think, in favour of Pelagius's British origins; and D. C. p. 16 note 5 where ame view is maintained. The passages of S. Jerome are these: "Nec recordatur issimus et Scottorum pultibus praegravatus, nos in ipso dixisse opere: non damno ios, immo nec trigamos, et si fieri potest, octogamos . . ." *Prol. in Ierem.* ML 24, "Ipseque mutus latrat per albinum (aliter, alpinuum) canem, grandem et cor-tum, et qui calcibus magis possit saevire quam dentibus. Habet enim progeniem icae gentis de Britannorum vicinia." *Op. cit.* proem. in III lib. ML 24, 758. We are ed to agree with D. C. p. 16 note 5 that the latter passage is sufficiently vague to y the view that S. Jerome did not wish to make Pelagius a Scot but to involve him ectly in the ill-fame which elsewhere he attributes to the Scotti and Atticotti, *Adv.* . 2, 7, ML 23, 296, *Ad Oceanum*, ML 22, 656, 57. In fine we think that the phrase tes Scottorum" had a definitely Irish connotation both for S. Jerome and for the cil of Valence; and that its use as a sort of theological censure in the sixth canon e Council implies that the Fathers knew their adversary for an Irishman—Scottus otus being the name for Irishman at that period. This point deserves special asis in view of the authority of the council and of the unlikelihood of its misjudging lateral matter of fact that could easily be checked.

ot much information is available as to the exact meaning of "pultes." Loofs renders hlbrei (loc. cit.) Doubtless it means some kind of gruel, porridge—a concoction rently unpalatable to the Romans of S. Jerome's day, but well known to earlier ations and not unknown in Italy to-day. Cf. Forcellini s. v. *puls*. By an analogous ss the Welsh "llymru," connoting some similar preparation, seems to have given to the pejorative flummery, O. E. D. s. v. *flummery*.

"Hanc libam sacro Graecorum nectare fartam
Advena Iohannes *σπένδω* meo Carolo. ML 122, 1029.

"Incipiunt libri Sancti Dionysii Areopagitae, quos Iohannes Eriugena transtulit

not much, if at all, in use until Gale gave it vogue in seventeenth century; it has been maintained by b Bauemker and Traube.[1] But from the ninth to the sev teenth century the common form of the name was Iohan Scottus, as D. C. shows from a survey of the relevant do ments.[2] Later usage has sanctioned a composite na Iohannes Scottus Eriugena, a pleonasm that the accur Latinist thus designated would not have tolerated.

Now either Scottus or Eriugena in the ninth century good evidence of Irish birth. To make a ninth century Scot a Scot in the present meaning of the latter word is anachronism which has fallen into desuetude. Simila Eriu is definitely Ireland, and Eriugena means born in Irela There is no need to argue either of these points, which h been solidly established by competent authorities. Ind it seems curious that they should ever have been the subj of controversy. At all events the controversy is now close

Beyond the fact of his birth in Ireland somewhere in first quarter of the ninth century there is no information to Eriugena's career until 851-852, when Pardulus of L informs the Lyons authorities that he had secured his ass ance in the predestinarian controversy.[4] We may jus infer that Eriugena was no new-comer at this time: deference of Churchmen to his, a layman's, theological vi imply as much; and a little autobiographical aside in

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de Graeco in Latinum, iubente ac postulante rege Carolo Ludovici filio." ML 122, 103 Floss, the Migne editor, reads Ierugena. But D. C., in agreement with Kenney *Sources for the early History of Ireland*, I, p. 571, note 208), shows that Eriugena is reading of the oldest MSS. IX century) and of the good MSS. of every age, p. 5 note 1

[1] D. C. p. 5 note 10.

[2] It seems unnecessary to multiply instances; a few examples of ninth century u will suffice. Pardulus of Laon wrote in 852 to the Church of Lyons: "Scotum illum Iohannem nomine," *Epist. ad Eccles. Lugd.* ML 121, 1052; the reply some months has Scottus Iohannes ML 121, 1054.

[3] As to Scottus cf. Kenney, *The Sources for the early History of Ireland*, I, 135: those who came from Ireland the Romans gave the name of Scotti, a name which to become the normal Latin designation of the people of Ireland from the fifth to eleventh century." So Zimmer and Loofs, *Realencyklopädie für prot. theol.* 15, 749. ample documentation of this usage is to be found in Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachs* 2, 1406 s.v. *Scotti*. For Eriu cf. Strahan, *Old Irish Paradigms* (1909), who gives declension of the word in Old Irish (seventh to ninth century) as follows: Ériu, Érenn, Dat. Érinn, Ére (p. 16); also Kenney, op. cit. p. 121, note 33, p. 133, note p. 571, note 208; Holder op. cit. 2, 99 s.v. Iveriu.

[4] "Sed quia haec valde inter se dissentiebant, Scotum illum qui est in palatio r (le fameux irlandais qui est à la cour, translates D. C. p. 59) Iohannem nomine scri cogimus. ML 121, 1052.

Praedestionatione, in which he signifies his scanty opportunities for study amidst the distractions of court life, confirm this view and moreover gives some grounds for thinking that he was a palatine professor. Indeed we are inclined to think that the tributes paid to Eriugena's scholarship at this early date by both friends and adversaries suggest a measure of previous literary accomplishment in Ireland or France of which no trace has been identified or perhaps has survived.[1]

In this way we obtain a tolerably clear idea of the early stages of Eriugena's literary career in France, but no information as to his earlier formation. Was he educated in Ireland or on the continent? As the sources provide no direct answer to this question, D. C. puts it in another way: were the Irish schools of the day capable of finishing off a scholar of Eriugena's calibre?[2] No answer is possible without taking sides in the controversy concerning the standard of Greek studies and general learning in Ireland from the fifth to the ninth century. D. C.'s negative reply places him amongst those historians who hold that the standard of Irish learning has been overrated. He does not of course deny the possibility of a good general education in the ninth century Irish schools that had not been ravaged by the Ostmen; and he handsomely acknowledges the debt the Continent owed to the intellectual gifts and zeal for learning of Irish exiles. But he maintains that it was expatriation that gave Eriugena and his compatriots the chance to perfect themselves in Greek, in the technique of grammar and prosody, as well as philosophy and theology. "Les émigrés Irlandais," he writes, "ont généralement gagnés à s'exiler."[3]

There is doubtless something to be said for this reaction against unscientific estimates of the past. But in the special question of Greek studies it is doubtful whether the minimising view has sufficiently reckoned with Zimmer's acute remark that as Latin was never an official language in Ireland—as it was in Britain and other Roman provinces—Irish students were as likely, possibly more likely, to be attracted to the more

[1] D. C. p. 59. [2] P. 13 sqq. [3] P. 29.

primitive text of Holy Scripture.[1] Neither is it clear in th same view why a comparatively small band of foreigne should surpass their reputed Continental masters in Gre studies. And there we would leave the matter, ending lik D. C., though not without a measure of disagreement, " s cette formule délibérément imprécise."

There is little more to know of Eriugena's life. He is n the only great figure in history whose human lineaments an character must remain inscrutable for ever or at best l vaguely conjectured from the intensely personal note in h writings. The hazards of such a reconstruction will have be assumed by the student of Eriugena's works. There seer little to add here except a bibliographical note and a summa review of certain readjustments suggested by recent Cathol writers in the final estimate of Eriugena's system of thoug

It was Eriugena's misfortune that his *De Praedestinatio* whatever its inherent errors may be, should have involv him in a controversy in which the provincial Councils Quierzy and Valence were at cross purposes through a failu to find a common formula for the same orthodox doctri which each eventually conceded to have been held by t other.[2] His book was welcome to neither side and he w charged with many errors, including Pelagianism.[3] We a not aware that any close investigation has been made in the circumstances of this charge of Pelagianism. It is delicate question in which the fog of controversy, a reca citrant terminology, Eriugena's own subtlety, paradoxes an dialectical fencing, and his mischievous proneness *épater bourgeoisie*, as well as the delicate texture of the doctrin involved, seem to call for such a study.

Whether it was due to the disfavour he had incurred amo

[1] " Irland nimmt gegenüber den christlichen Ländern des Abendlandes im 4/5 Jahrhu dert eine darin Ausnahmestellung dass es nie einen teil des romischen Reiches bilde Demgemäss war in jener Zeit Latein auch nie offizielle Sprache eines Teiles der Bevölkeru in Irland wie in den andern Strichen des christlichen Abendlandes . . . . so lag ja Studiu der heiligen Schrift in Griechischen für die Iren ebenso nahe wenn nicht näher, als in c andern Fremdsprache, dem Latein." *Pelagius in Ireland* p. 7 note.

[2] These councils are Carisiacum and Valentinum III of Denziger-Bannwart, *Enc ridion* (ed. 18-20) nn. 316, 320. The misunderstanding noted above is referred to ib n. 320 note 2.

[3] Prudentius, *De Praedestinatione contra I Scottum*, ML 115, 1010-1013, 1045-10 1099-1118; Florus, *Liber adversus I. Scottum*, ML 119, 124-157.

heologians or to the temperamental distaste of an original independent mind for controversy, Eriugena turned to his professional studies and produced a series of slations from the Greek. To this Hellenising period ng *Versio Operum S. Dionysii* (860/862), *Versio Ambium S. Maximi* (862/864), *Sermo Gregorii Episcopi Nysae magine* (it was D. C.'s discovery of a ninth century Bam- MS. which confirmed the conjecture that he had made translation);[1] possibly also a version of some part of imus the Confessor's *Ambigua in Divinam Scripturam* a version of the *Ancoratus* of St. Gregory of Nyssa (whom respectable company he confounds with S. Gregory of ianzen).

Several attempts have been made in recent years to mate Eriugena's knowledge of Greek and assess his skill a translator.[2] D. C., who has had the advantage of seke's and P. Théry's researches and is not prone to ggerate Eriugena's Greek scholarship, allows that he was first Hellenist of the Carolingian age. This tribute is all more significant in view of the fact that Eriugena had wrestle with a faulty text that ran continuously, without ision of words, without punctuation, without accents, to interpret the mind of writers like the pseudo-Dionysius Maximus whose style is abstruse and far from classical. was much more by his translations than by his original tings that Eriugena influenced mediaeval thought; indeed is commonly enough designated in the Middle Ages "transor S. Dionysii." It was Eriugena's text of the Areopagite it was utilised by Albert the Great, S. Thomas, Alexander Hales and S. Bonaventure; and it is these translations it contributed, in a degree that has not yet been accurately termined but which may be preponderating, to the establishent of scholastic terminology.[3]

[1] Other translations attributed to Eriugena include *Moralia de Secretis Secretorum seu Recto Regimine Principum*, an apocryphal letter of Aristotle to Alexander the Great, *Prisciani Philosophi Solutiones eorum de quibus dubitavit Chosroes Persarum Rex.* ther is Eriugena's work in D.C.'s opinion, pp. 146-149.

[2] D. C.'s investigation of Eriugena's vocabulary, morphology and syntax will be found pp. 138-140.

[3] This point needs and deserves further study. The following tentative but certainly omplete list of words introduced by Eriugena is given by D. C. after Eucken: con-

Here as well as anywhere else we may refer to a hete geneous group of writings dealing with grammar, logic a natural history that have been attributed, on various groun to Eriugena. D. C. in some detail goes into the question their authenticity and his investigation leaves us, at least the present, with a single genuine work, *Annotationes Martianum Capellam.*[1] A ninth century Paris MS. provi the only known but imperfect text from which the first c plete edition is being prepared by M. Mélandre. Irish edu tionists will be interested to read Eriugena's views on *Nuptiae Philologiae et Mercurii*, a book which S. Gregory Tours tells us was in use in the schools of his time.[2]

Here too we may notice Eriugena's verse both in La and in Greek.[3] Therein he celebrates the principal myst of Christ's life—often ending with a prayer for his pat Charles the Bald—whilst his praise of the Mother of Go at least three of his poems is very striking. His verse d not perhaps rise very much above contemporary levels; its merit is all the greater in one whose native language so remote from either Greek or Latin.[4]

Eriugena's other works comprise *De Divisione Nat* (862/866), which he himself names *περὶ φύσεων*[5], *Com*

tinuitas, existentia, subsistentia, pluralitas, causativus, incausale, formationes, immed qualitativus, receptivus, supermundanus, supernaturalis, modus essendi, purus intel theoreticae speculationes, intellectuales contemplationes, intuitus rationis, nat leges, revolutiones, specificans, atomum, monas, theoria, usia, gnosticus, mysticus. p. 251 note 5, where D. C. notes that supernaturalis is already found in Hilduin's ve of the Areopagite.

[1] Pp. 68-75. [2] *Historia Francorum*, 10, 30, 49 ML 71. 572.

[3] D. C. notes that it has been published in a critical edition by Traube in MGH Lat. III, pp. 518-553.

[4] The following passages may serve as a specimen of his style, of his piety, of the matic turn of his verse, and of his fondness for intercalated Greek :—

"Magna Dei Genetrix, ter felix, sancta Maria,
Te laudant coeli, te votis inclytat orbis.
Proxima sis Carolo tutrix, munimen et altum
Qui tibi mirifice praeclarum fabricat aedem,
Aedes maramoreas." ML 122, 1235.

"*παρθένος* angelico commovit viscera fatu,
Ac comitante fide suscepit numine partum.
O felix *γαστὴρ* divinum sustinet ignem,
Virtutis radius solidatur somate sacro
Unam personam duplex substantia prodit.
Nam Deus aeternus rationem tempore sumens,
Corpore compacto sese perfecerat *ἄνδρα*
Iesum Christum regnantem saecula semper
Te lumen mundi colimus." ibid. 1232.

[5] *Expositiones super Hier. Cael.* ML. 122, 168.

in S. Evangelium secundum Ioannem, *Homilia in Pro-*
S. Evangelii secundum Ioannem and *Expositiones super*
chiam Caelestem S. Dionysii (all three c. 865/870).
Divisione Naturae is Eriugena's most celebrated work.
es the form of a dialogue between Magister and Dis-
, and its five books extend to 581 columns of Migne.
eatise proves Eriugena to have been one of the greatest
liaeval Latinists. His style has much of the technical
on that scholasticism was to achieve four centuries
something of the balance and sonorousness of Cicero,
es at times to a brilliancy of tone and emotional tension
n the opinion of good judges, surpasses the best pages
naissance literature.[1]
is not easy briefly to describe Eriugena's method or
ch a just appreciation of his achievement. Whatever
nal verdict may be, it will not be denied that *De*
one Naturae is a monument of encyclopaedic erudition
s it has been well characterised,[2] the only philosophical
heological synthesis of the early Middle Ages.
is important to note the special sense of certain terms
s treatise and the unusual angle of approach. Nature
all-comprehensive term that includes both the natural
upernatural order.[3] Both orders are theophanies or
tions of God,[4] and accessible to our human investigation
tively through the processes of reason and by way of
rity and faith. Eriugena is not unaware of the funda-
l distinction between these two kinds of knowledge,[5]
e deliberately defines philosophy as inclusive of the
natural order and as convertible with true religion.[6]
urfold division of nature—God, the First Cause (creat et

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[1] Vernet, DTC s.v. *Erigène*, V. 426. [2] Vernet ibid. quoting P. Jacquin.
[3] "Est igitur natura generale nomen, ut diximus, omnium quae sunt et quae non . . . nihil enim in universo cogitationibus nostris potest occurrere, quod tali vocabulo carere." *De Div. Nat.* 1, 1 ML 122, 441.
[4] See for instance ibid. 1, 8, ML 122, 448; 3, 4 ML 122, 633; 5, 3 ML 122, 905.
[5] "Vera enim auctoritas rectae rationi non obsistit neque recta ratio verae auctoritati: siquidem ex uno fonte, divina scilocet sapientia, manare dubium non est." *De Nat.* 1, 66; ML 122, 511.
[6] "Conficitur inde, veram esse philosophiam veram religionem, conversimque veram eam esse veram philosophiam." *De Praed.* 1, 1; ML 122, 358. This he states also in form in *Comm. in Mart. Cap*: "Nemo intrat in caelum nisi per philosophiam."

non creatur), the primordial causes (creantur et creant), creation (creatur et non creat), and God as Final Cause of all (nec creat nec creatur)—is neither altogether original[1] nor is Eriugena too concerned with its methodical development in the course of his treatise. His real concern is the simpler bipartite division of the tremendous spectacle of the coming forth of the universe from God (egressio) and of its return to its source (regressio) through the multifarious processes of nature and grace, but chiefly in man, the microcosm, the universe in little.[2] No topic is irrelevant to the purpose of an inquiry of such unlimited scope and transcendental character; and the marginal summaries, now printed by D. C. from two Bamberg MSS., show that Eriugena traverses, sometimes a little at random and hard put to find the way, the entire range of ninth century learning.[3]

The *De Divisione Naturae* had a wide sphere of influence in the pre-scholastic period. For nearly three centuries and a half it incurred no official censure, though there are signs of misgivings in certain quarters. It was not until the followers of Amaury de Bène cited it in support of pantheism and trinitarian errors that the Council of Paris (1210) ordered it to be burnt and Honorius III in 1225 ordered all copies in France to be sent to Rome for the same purpose. Thereafter little attention was paid to Eriugena's speculations except by the less orthodox; and when Thomas Gale issued the first printed edition at Oxford in 1681, the Church again signified its disapproval by putting the book on the Index, where it remains to this day.

The Commentary on S. John is fragmentary and does not

[1] D.C. shows that certain of its elements are to be found in S. Augustine, Maximus the Confessor and especially in Boethius, p. 312.

[2] ". . . non immerito dicitur homo creaturarum omnium officina, quoniam in ipso universalis creatura continetur . . . In quo, videlicet homine, omnis creatura visibilis et invisibilis condita est. Ideoque officina omnium dicitur, quoniam in eo omnia, quae post Deum sunt, continentur." *De Div. Nat.* 3, 37, 5, 20, ML 122, 733, 933.

[3] P. 199 sqq. A few of these marginal summaries taken at random will illustrate the point: de theophaniis, de motu et statu diei, de una causa omnium ter subsistente, de decem categoriis, de melchisedec, de informi materie, de umbra, definitio fidei, definitio amoris, quaestio de causis, de differentia intellectus et rationis, de ignorantia filii de die iudicii, de baptismate, definitio arithmetice, de aeternitate numerorum, de nihilo, de Socrate, de operibus sex dierum, de vestimentis Domini, de visu et auditu, de quadrapedibus allegoricis, de enoc et helia, de eo quod anime solutis corporibus usque ad diem iudicii purgari possunt, definitio malitie, de nubibus in quibus rapientur sancti obviam christo in aera.

go beyond 6, 14. The homily deals with the prologue of St. John, *i.e.*, with the liturgical text 1, 1-14. The evidence for their genuineness is internal, but seems conclusive.[1]

So far we have endeavoured to summarise such trustworthy information as is available on Eriugena's life and writings. Now at the end we cannot on the one hand altogether evade the difficult question of his general doctrinal position; yet on the other it would be presumptuous within the limits of this article to attempt a detailed examination of his varied speculations. Perhaps it will be best to compromise by indicating in a summary way the findings of recent Catholic studies on Eriugena's more systematic doctrines.

"Was John the Scot a heretic?" is the title of an article by Dr. Turner, now Bishop of Buffalo, written a quarter of a century ago.[2] The question does not, of course, challenge the condemnation of *De Divisione Naturae:* that sentence must stand and cannot be reversed except by the authority that imposed it. Acquiescing therefore in the Church's decision, Dr. Turner merely inquires whether Eriugena was a formal heretic, *i.e.*, one who not only professed doctrines that have been objectively adjudged heretical, but who was heterodox "in foro interno" as well and really heretically-minded. His conclusion is as follows: "When all the material shall have been worked over into a biography worthy of the man, and the spirit as well as the letter of his writings shall have been allowed to speak for him, the verdict of the biographer will, it is safe to say, agree with that of his first editor, Gale: Potuit ergo errare; haereticus esse noluit."[3] This view can be amply supported from Eriugena's writings. He has much of the wholesome mediaeval abhorrence of heresy; his deference to the rule of Faith and the authority of Scripture and Tradition is sincere and steadfast; through all his writings there runs a tender sentiment of piety that rings

[1] Floss ML 122, 125-284 assigns to Eriugena a triple commentary on the Pseudo-Dionysius, i.e., on the Celestial Hierarchy, the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and the Mystical Theology. D. C. p. 217 retains the first commentary only, rejecting the second as based on Jean Sarrasin's much later version from the Greek, and the third as being a composite piece that served as an introduction to the second.

[2] *Irish Theological Quarterly*, V (1910), p. 391.

[3] Ibid. p. 401.

altogether true. He erred, but, as far as we can conje from his writings, in good faith.

But it is with the objective content of his writings with his subjective attitude, that the Church is concerne foro externo" ; and in this respect it is curious to note nearly three centuries and a half elapsed before the a of a heretical sect to the authority of *De Divisione N* occasioned its condemnation ; and that since that time has persisted sporadically among Catholics a tenden absolve Eriugena on certain of the graver charges br against him.[1] Now neglecting particular points of do and looking only to the broad systematic outline of his the among the main charges against him are panth rationalism and agnosticism. His latest biographer fully with these charges and is of opinion that they c be sustained. Dr. Turner holds that he was no ratio and M. Vernet that he was neither a rationalist nor a theist, though he definitely accuses him of agnosti But we doubt very much that this charge can be sul tiated. It is doubtless based on his treatment of the pr of analogy and on the excessive emphasis he places o

[1] D. C. p. 250, note 6 cites Alberic de Trois-Fontaines, *Chronica* ad ann. 1225 : nationem incurrit propter novos Albigenses et falsos theologos qui verba bene suo tempore prolata et antiquis simpliciter intellecta male intelligendo pervert ex eis heresim suam confirmabant." Vernet, DTC V, 431 s.v. *Erigène* has this ce " Des catholiques ont cru pouvoir établir la parfaite orthodoxie de Scot Erigè F. A. Staudenmaier, *Johannes Scotus Erigena und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit*, F sur-Main, 1834, et C. B. Schlüter, dans la préface de son édition du *De Divisione* Münster, 1938, laquelle préface est reproduite dans P. L., t. CXXII col. 101-126 plus : des catholiques, non pas toujours d'une doctrine très sûre (voir pour Baac col. 1), tels que Frédéric de Schlegel et François de Baader, ont regretté que la sch ne se soit attachée de plus près aux enseignements ériugénistes. Cf. Schlüter da t. CXXII, col. 111. Récemment P. Vulliaud esquissait une apologie d'Eriugèn Entretiens idéalistes 25 Mars 1910 . . . ."

[2] " Nous espérons avoir montré que Jean Scot n'est pas un philosophe étranger à la religion ou réduisant celle-ci à un mythe . . . c'est un théologien cl à comprendre par l'étude des Pères et la réflexion,—combien peu indépendente, en —le sens de l'Ecriture et de la foi. L'autorité de celle-ci est souveraine et int et l'autonomie qu'Erigène réclame pour la raison ne l'atteint nullement . . . Je ne nous apparaît pas comme un libre penseur ou un rationaliste, même au sen de ce terme. Quant au grief de panthéisme, nous ne lui avons pas trouvé dava fondement sérieux . . ." (D. C. pp. 384, 385).—" Cependant, quelles que so exigences de la théologie négative, on aurait tort de prendre l'agnosticisme a Jean Scot pour une destruction pure et simple, p. 324. Mais il est impossible de la de J. Scot] taxer de rationalisme au sens courant de ce mot." (Vernet op. cit. col " Mais quelles que soient les ambiguïtés et les défaillances de détail, il ne semble le fond du système soit du panthéisme. L'agnosticisme—C'est ici l' erreur fonda d'Eriugène . . . entre la théologie négative et la théologie positive il coupe le Nous ne savons rien de Dieu." (*Idem* col. 425).

ry of negation. It is from the stand point of analogy Eriugena approaches the predestination controversy.[1] crue that, as regards the predicability of the divine the formula "quasi proprie" of *De Praedestinatione* es greatly attenuated in *De Divisione Naturae*, where nil proprie," and Eriugena seems at first sight to verge osticism.[2] And yet we think with D. C. that Eriugena ot really cut the bridges. In his discussion of analogy tinguishes the three ways of causality, negation and nce as everyone else does. We must know something cause if we know the effect (first stage); but our con- need correction (second stage), and infinite amplifi- (third stage), before they can be affirmed of God. Now ugena's case the second stage is the critical one. It is hat some of his formulae suggest that the second stage s the first; but we think that on a larger view the second yields a positive content. This point is susceptible of mathematical proof. For if the way of negation really s the way of affirmation, the addition of a way of nce is as unreal and unproductive as adding a positive to zero. Eriugena is explicit and insistent on the use way of eminence to express the excess of the divine tions over all knowledge and beyond all the resources guage. He is even filled with ingenuous delight at the ss of *ὑπέρ*, super, plus quam to suggest this excess usand years before the publicity agents rediscovered evice and put it to less noble uses. Against this it may ged that Eriugena merely assumes the way of eminence annot prove it; in other words that he has made the tion from the second to the third stage by an illegitimate ss. Without attempting to justify every sentence of ena's analysis, we would still suggest that the general

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. . . utrum proprie vel abusive . . . dicatur Deus praescire. Ubi primo notandum, a nihil digne de Deo dicitur, omnia paene sive nominum . . . proprie de Deo posse . . . Proinde signorum verbalium quaedam quasi proprie [de Deo praedicatio in hoc universaliter studet ut suadeat . . . nil de Deo proprie posse dici, superat omnem intellectum omnesque sensibiles intelligibilesque significationes; lius nesciendo scitur, cuius ignorantia vera est sapientia, quia verius fideliusque in omnibus, quam affirmatur," *De Div. Nat.* 1, 66, ML 122, 510.

terms in which he describes the resultant of the second do not seem so remote from the language of the schoo

What most distinguishes Eriugena from his co poraries and startled them hardly less than it startles his passion for the absolute: for the ultimate dialec thought and metaphysic of thing; for the most symbolism of Holy Scripture; for that supreme vantage of the mind whence he could contemplate the unity plicity and order of the universe in its coming forth fro creative hand of God and in its return. Some referen already been made to his investigation of the probl analogy—we know of no one before him or for centuries him that went into the question so deeply—and to hi for scriptural exegesis: as regards the latter, we can regret that his bias in favour of Greek methods should led him to devote his really extraordinary acumen a genuity to the secondary senses to the neglect of the pr historical sense on which the rest is based. He wa occupied too with another source of doctrine, the te of the Fathers. Characteristically, he examines the b patristic argument and the right way to discern the F unanimous teaching or to reconcile their superficial diffe on questions that are certain on other grounds. Besid more systematic developments there are many par doctrines that Eriugena has discussed in his writings: tion, Original Sin, Grace, the Blessed Eucharist, the Things, and many Christological doctrines. On some of questions, *e.g.*, the Blessed Eucharist, he has perhap too little to justify a peremptory statement of his opin others are more profusely developed, sometimes on gra lines, as for instance his Christology. Here we cannot do

[1] Eriugena knew and quotes (*De Div. Nat.* 2, 29, ML 122) S. Augustine's "qui [Deus] scitur melius nesciendo," De Ordine 2, 16 ML 32, 1015. Cf. S. T expression: "Magis enim manifestatur de ipso [Deo] quid non est quam quid es *Theol.* 1, 9 ad 3. A modern scholastic text book has this comment on the way of n "Ex dictis perspicitur, quomodo sensu aliquo vero omnes perfectiones de Deo et simul negari possunt . . . Sic Deus dici potest sapiens, quia est sapientia; s potest non sapiens, quatenus in eo nullatenus est compositio ex subiecto et accidentali . . . Quo subtilior nostra de Deo cognitio est, eo perfectius quasi infinitam distantiam cognitionis ab infinita perfectione Dei. Quae intelligen inepte 'docta ignorantia' vocata est," L. Lercher s.j. *Instit. Theol. Dogm.* (1924).

[2] D. C. p. 368.

efer the reader to D. C., who has made a brief but very sting summary of these doctrines.[1]

ough has perhaps been said to suggest that there is hing in Eriugena's works that, on the subjective side st, is not altogether inexcusable and not a little that t be palliated. The note of sympathy is based on a leration mentioned above, " haereticus esse noluit " ; as s on an appreciation of the disabilities under which he d. Among these disabilities we would reckon his rôle neer of systematic theology in the Middle Ages. He ot only the first in his age to attempt a synthesis of the rses of reason and faith, but he had to fashion a language, uct a theological technique, translate some of his Greek es and make the best he could of the fragmentary gia for much of the Latin sources. His task was rendered hazardous by the belief, shared with all his contemporaries nshaken for several centuries thereafter, that the Areo-e's works had the high authority of S. Paul's convert , martyr bishop. It needed little but his own forthright, t truculent development of a subtle theme, the " theologia iva " for instance, to disturb and even falsify the per-ive of his thought and raise doubts, unfounded we think s instance, about his orthodoxy. Finally, it seems hardly sary to add that Eriugena would have avoided many rror if he could have seen the Church's authoritative ing in later centuries, as it appears in Viva's *Theses* or iger's *Enchiridion*.

ut whatever may be said in extenuation of Eriugena's s subjectively regarded, it will not be denied, even apart his treatment of systematic or particular doctrines, certain objective errors of method—his predilection for statement, for false emphasis, for hazardous paradoxes,[2] an overweening assurance that imperturbably affronts ments wherein it is very difficult at times to be sure

p. 361-381.

n instance or two of his risky paradoxes will suffice : " Deus igitur nescit se, quid ia non est quid " (*De Div. Nat.* 2, 28 ; ML 122, 589). " Non ergo ambigis . . . . [naturam divinam] . . . . a seipsa creari " (ibid. 1, 13 ; ML 122, 425). In the first ce all that E. means is that God is undefinable because He trandscends all limits ; second " creation " means " manifestation." Cf. context and D.C. pp. 343, 346, 51.

whether he has or has not made a false step—would have sufficed to bring about the proscription of *De Div Naturae*. It may be that the presence of the sympat and docile Discipulus tempts him to display his skill in lectical prestidigitation, mystification and paradox. certain that a misplaced confidence in some of his sources gave him a false sense of security in the handli subtle and delicate themes. At all events the sequel tragic one. It calls for a large and difficult effort of sy thetic insight on the Catholic side to save from conv on certain graver charges; but it has been easy for Catholic thinkers to exploit Eriugena's paradoxes and statements in the interest of heterodox doctrine sinc thirteenth century to our own day.

Iohannes Scottus Eriugena in his lifetime was, D. C., *un grand isolé*. Intellectually he lived alone. was due in part to the fate that isolates genius in the of mediocrity; and it may not be excessive to think th universal erudition,[1] for metaphysical genius, for diale acuteness, for the power of grandiose systematisation an the graces of humanism he was the genius of his age. clash with authority deepened this intellectual aloo Moreover he discovered more than once that, in spite royal favour, his foreign status was remembered against and the estrangement would have been the greater if he as is possible, a layman in trouble with the clerical theolo And this isolation of his life follows his works. It is tru his works were widely read in pre-scholastic times, not a without unfavourable comment. It is also true th influenced the scholastic age by his translations, his diale technique and his felicitous Latin terminology. Bu of his ideas were carried over into Scholasticism an system of thought had no vogue in the Schools at all. destined to remain as remote and isolated as the int life and character of this almost anonymous but pe greatest Irish scholar on the Continent of Europe.

D. S. NERI

[1] He reached Tycho-Brahé's astronomical system in a stride. Vernet DTC 5,

UL BOURGET AND SOME SUCCESSORS

BY VIRGINIA M. CRAWFORD

RECENT biography of Paul Bourget,[1] now an old man of eighty-three, with a long list—thirty-three volumes—vels, short stories and essays behind him, comes to remind the very high place he once filled in the literary world ance. Almost every novel he wrote, from *L'Irréparable*, enjoyed a *succès de scandale* in 1884 to *Le Démon de* published on the eve of the great War, was a best- of its season. For over thirty years Bourget was the ed author of that wealthy and educated middle-class hom primarily he wrote and from whom he drew rial. It was at once his strength and his limitation he confined himself strictly to the world with which he familiar. "Ah, la brave classe moyenne, la solide et nte bourgeoisie," he exclaims in his preface to *Le Disciple*. ocracy, on the other hand, the whole industrial world ance with its political expression in the Republic, filled with a sense of fear and repulsion. Politically a rchist and traditionalist, universal suffrage was to him most monstrous and iniquitous of tyrannies," while olicy of *ralliement* to the Republic urged by Leo XIII a matter of profound regret. He had not even any real athy with the peasantry, the true backbone of France, lid he show any aptitude for the "regional" novel which atholic contemporaries, René Bazin and Henri Bordeaux, beginning to produce with such happy results. No, s the refined, luxurious inhabitants of Paris salons among n he carried on his psychological studies, because among —as he himself has frankly admitted—the sentimental finds its most complete developments, and it was they turn who bought up edition after edition of his romances. lmost from the outset of his literary career Bourget efore himself as his aim the writing of analytical novels—

[1] *Paul Bourget* by Victor Giraud. (Bloud et Gay. 1934).

in contra-distinction to the *romans de moeurs* of Balzac Stendhal—with a definitely moral lesson. Where he excel Victor Giraud says truly, was in unravelling the skein—of so mysteriously entangled—of sentiments and ideas wh struggle for life in the depths of a man's soul and in lay bare the unconscious motives which so often dictate decisive actions. Above all he was the indefatigable ana of all those sentimental disorders to which the hearts of r and women are prone. And undoubtedly this was one m reason of his popularity. Yet by preference he carried on analytical investigations, not on the plane of normal hur existence, but under exceptional conditions of crisis, lead up to catastrophe sometimes bordering on melodrama. one was more skilful than he in the technique of plot-build His originality lay in his combining this genius for st telling with an elaborate exposition of the tangled moti of the actors. What he lacked was just that lightness of to which we have come to connect with the great writers French fiction, together with that delicate sense of humo that goes hand in hand with a sense of proportion. As t went on M. Bourget gave his books an increasingly con versial character, and he himself tended to adopt an alm episcopal solemnity of utterance. In the end art was alm stifled by edification.

Yet to be a Catholic novelist in the full sense of that much-discussed term must have been quite remote from early attitude towards his art. Through his mother a son Lorraine, Bourget himself relates in an autobiograph fragment that a streak of Germanic poetry and philoso was in life-long conflict within him with his paternal inhe ance of a pure and lucid Latin tradition. One must remem too that he came to manhood in those post-war years a 1870 so full of tragedy and pessimism for all thoughtful Frer men, and that like many others of his generation he passed through the purely intellectual training of the *l* to fall under the influence of Taine and of Renan. Thus found himself in early manhood in a mental condition if precisely of unbelief, yet one of doubt and uncertainty

n faith in science had almost triumphed over faith in
led religion. Exceptionally well-read in classical litera-
and the great Greek tragedians, so often quoted from
s novels, his earlier years were dominated by a sense of
mplacable destiny hanging over man. With so compli-
a mental make-up it is obvious that life could not be
n gaily or lightly, and we have the clue to that close
ectual and moral analysis to which the novelist subjects
fter the other of his youthful heroes, in several of whom
asy to detect autobiographical traits. And one can follow
lso, in the long series of novels, the growth and deepening
s own religious convictions and his attitude towards all
ocial and political questions of his day, in which he was
lingly interested. As years passed, the Catholic faith
ie somewhat narrow way in which he apprehended it,
lied the only possible clue to the riddle of life in its many
plexities: without it one can only conceive of him as a
inced pessimist.

The approach to faith varies in accordance with men's
eraments, and it is with no derogatory intent that we
assume that in Bourget's case it was less a sense of inward
nal need than a realisation of the historic role played
he Catholic Church in France throughout the ages, that
ght conviction to his soul. It is here that his mind came
mpathetic contact both with Maurras and Barrès, whom
unted among his intimate friends. His love of tradition,
ense of order, his monarchical sympathies no less than
mbition to see once more a strong, united and picturesque
ce, kept him among the acrimonious critics of the Govern-
t during those early years after 1870 when a Republic
ared a drab and transient experiment. Slowly he came
ealise that nothing of all he desired so passionately for
ce could be attained out of communion with the Church
through neglect of Christian moral teaching. And as
own moral convictions grew stronger, so he became more
bative and more intransigent in driving home those
lamental truths of which he felt that France in general,
the pleasure-loving society of Paris salons in particular,

stood so sorely in need. His faith never seems to have acqu that quality of quiet, confident acceptance that illum the novels of a René Bazin. It remained to the end, r up to *Le Sens de la Mort* and *Nos Actes nous suivent* (19 a subject of controversy, in which the fallacies of his a gonists are elaborately and triumphantly exposed. If had not so many higher qualifications, one might say of that he was a born controversialist.

In a discriminating appreciation M. Carco,[1] in agreem with Victor Giraud, attributes greater importance to B get's two early volumes of *Essais de Psychologie Con poraine*, both as establishing his reputation in the lite world of Paris and as revealing his rare analytical pow than to those contemporaneous novels so popular with general public. In selecting for his "Essays" ten of literary giants of the previous generation—Taine, Re Baudelaire, the Goncourts, Turgeniev, etc.—Bourget's ob was not so much to establish their literary value, thoug does this with a generous warmth of appreciation an scrupulous fairness, as to trace out their educative and m influence on the youth of their day, of which he himself one. For him, M. Giraud tells us, their writings were prim "the expression of a certain state of mind and soul w needed to be analysed and defined." And it was in the co of this prolonged work of psychological criticism, las from 1880-1885, that Bourget's own attitude towards became clarified and his religious convictions strengthe so that he was enabled to write in the preface to a later edit quoted by M. Carco: "The long enquiry into the m diseases of France to-day, of which these essays were beginning, have forced me to recognise in my turn—that individuals as for society Christianity supplies the un and necessary condition of cure and of health."

It was probably all this perturbation of mind and of which accounts for the fact that it was only towards thirtieth year that Bourget found his real vocation a creator of fiction, although the urge to write had been on

[1] *Paul Bourget*, by Francis Carco in a collection "Les Quarante." (Alcan, 19

early childhood. Almost from the first his novels, in of their worldly setting and their dubious amatory tions, show signs of religious preoccupations. Thus in *lle Enigme*, the religious motive, though kept in the ground, is far from absent. It was illicit love, analysed amazing discernment, which caused the hero to fall from the Christian faith and practice in which an adoring ner had sedulously brought him up.

t was, however, *Le Disciple* (1889) which carried Bourget's tation into new and wider spheres. The book must have sed serious intellectual controversy of the sort which in land gathered round Mrs. Humphrey Ward's *Robert nere* at much the same period. The story, it will be remem-d, recounts the deplorable moral effects on an abnormally centred young man, Robert Greslou, of the materialistic ories of the philosopher, Adrien Sixte—a venerable figure, ely modelled on that of Taine—with a resultant melo-matic tragedy. And Bourget unhesitatingly puts the blem: how responsible was Adrien Sixte for the results his teaching? It was a question which, at a time when h Taine and Renan were still the intellectual leaders of versity students, must have come home to thousands French upper-class parents. Bourget points the Christian, l also the national, moral with unanswerable emphasis. d the lesson was driven home by the oft-quoted preface which the author made an impassioned personal appeal the youth of the day to abandon their prevalent mood cynical and refined egotism and to live for an ideal and France. Artistically the book has many weaknesses, but eed the controversial intent is throughout so uppermost it it should be judged as a tract rather than as a novel. -day, under altered circumstances, the arguments fall rather t, yet it is easy to understand the sensation the book ated at a time when the ideas, so boldly denounced, were wide acceptation.

It is held by his biographers that *L'Etape* (1902) is the ost autobiographical of M. Bourget's novels, and the long ocess of thought which brought Jean Monneron from

materialism to faith, through—at the outset—a sense of
and tradition, is no doubt very closely that of the a
himself. Yet here again M. Bourget, in his zeal, seems
to overstep the mark in relation to legitimate contro
Men, after all, may be either better or worse than their
ciples ; certainly cause and effect, when it comes to ques
of a spiritual or material conception of life, are not as clea
and rigid as the novelist would have us believe. Even l
logic must sometimes be at fault where conduct is conce
Yet the learned and visionary M. Monneron, for the s
bringing up his family to pin their faith in human per
bility and social progress, is condemned to see his eldest
become a forger, his daughter a *fille-mère* and his schoo
son an irrepressible *voyou*, whereas his scholastic rival,
devout M. Ferrand, is rewarded with an angel of a daug
who is the instrument for the conversion of Jean, the
member to react happily against the home influences o
boyhood. In similar mood the " Union Tolstoi," in Bour
hands, is a really grotesque travesty of a democratic
ciation with educational aims, even if led by so fanatic
Jew as Crémieu-Dax.

It seems probable that the long novel *Démon de*
(1914) will remain, and deservedly, the most read of Bour
books. The key lies in the title : *daemonio meridiano* o
psalm here taken in the sense of the specific temptatio
which a proud and successful man may be prone in mi
life. As usual with Bourget the story is overcrowded
motives and incidents, and indeed it contains two c
separate centres of interest : the predicament of L
Savignan torn between his duty as a Catholic and his ho
as a man on the one hand and, on the other, his sudd
reawakened passion for Geneviève Calvières whom he
loved in vain twenty years earlier, and the relations o
son Jacques with the Modernist priest, Abbé Fauchon,
his unhappy devotion to Thérèse Andrault, a disciple
victim of the latter. There is an admirably drawn par
between Savignan, officially a Catholic and perfectly ortho
yet whose inward faith has shrunk to little more than a form

Jacques, intensely and emotionally religious, but en-
led at the time in modernist sophisms. This is all mixed
with the unedifying intrigues of a provincial election in
ergne to the Chamber of Deputies, out of which no one
es with any credit. From such material, in which religious
amatory motives are exploited to the uttermost, Bourget
be trusted to draw all the tragedy possible, and though
Modernist motive is now without actuality, the book
ains as fiction a very fine achievement.

A word must be said, for it was one reason of his immense
ularity with the novel-reading public, of Bourget's often
ciless skill in delineating feminine nature under the stress
matory emotion. All the obscure desires and unrestrained
ulses of a woman such as Mme de Sauve are disentangled
exposed with a lucidity and precision that few novelists
e achieved. In Mme Calvières Bourget has described,
n equal subtlety, a guilty love partially redeemed by its
mate power of self-sacrifice. Charles Maurras, writing of
friend, has stated that it was in dissecting the " anarchie
oureuse " of elegant women that Bourget excelled, and he
s that characters painted with such serious perfection
se to belong to the vulgar stage of human comedy and
lifted up into the sphere of drama and tragedy. This,
Bourget at his best, seems a true commentary.

It seems unnecessary to pursue our author's career beyond
pre-war years to which, through age and mentality, he
clearly belongs. *Le Sens de la Mort*, published in 1916,
ers in no wise from its predecessors save for the hospital
ting derived from the novelist's war-time service. Since
n the stream of French fiction has advanced on lines wholly
eign to the chronicler of the Boulevard Saint-Germain
d inspired by a very different ideology. We have been
voured, for instance, with the " regional " novel, which
s done so much to open the eyes of foreign readers to the
ne life of France with its weaknesses indeed, but also with
robust virtues and its strong local characteristics. We
ve been given admirable word-paintings of the toiling
asantry of Gascony and Savoy and of the austere uplands

of the centre. Mauriac's *Noeud de Vipères* and his *My* *Frontenac* are outstanding examples that spring to the mi Again, in what has come to be known as the *roman-fl* we are being shewn life, not in its moments of elabora built-up crisis, but rather in broad stretches of every experiences based on the intermingling of class with class suggesting a host of new social and ethical problems. Ge Duhamel in his *Chronique des Pasquiers* and Jules Rom in his *Hommes de Bonne Volonté*, of which already e volumes have appeared, are charactertistic examples of new form of fiction, neither author being definitely Cath but both far removed from any anti-Christian intent. when religious problems are treated, it is not with the dogm certitude which divides the sheep from the goats, as t presented themselves to the mind of a Bourget, but rathe sympathetic illustration of that *inquiétude religieuse* or *t ment de l'infini* as it has been variously described by Fre writers and accepted by them as the characteristic moo the younger generation. Thus the seventh volume of Romains' long novel has for its sub-title, "Recherche d' Eglise," and Jerphanion, presented as a typical *normalier* to-day, explains to a friend that the past generation w against churches and eager to pull them down, but we, he s are the "génération Eglises," seeking earnestly for s spiritual inspiration.

These tendencies find perhaps their most forcible expres in the writings of that brilliant young author, M. Dan Rops, who has recently sprung into fame at once as essay novelist and frequent contributor to *Ordre Nouveau*, the or of one of several groups of idealistic young Frenchmen w from various standpoints, are seeking to inaugurate a n social order in public life, based primarily on a spirit principle with economic reform as only a secondary moti Intellectually these young men, many of them Catho and all anti-materialist, express the profound reaction the nation against the ineptitude and corruption of politi parties at the moment; deriving much of their inspirat

[1] See the writer's article on "François Mauriac" in STUDIES, Dec. 1933.

Léon Bloy and Péguy, they are frankly anti-capitalist, ourgeois and—as against Communism and Fascism—lers of the individual value of the human soul. Not a atholic readers may prefer M. Daniel-Rops's essays—*rte d'Europe* (1928) was a convincing *exposé* of post-war e as he conceives it—but it is inevitably through his novels, *Ame Obscure* (published six years ago) and his *Mort, où est ta Victoire?* that he is more widely known. rmer novel contains a powerful study of a proud resent-ture whose "obscure soul" cannot disentangle itself bad hereditary instincts and who fails to respond to the ial influences of his friend, the Abbé Van Vries, an ably drawn figure. The story becomes in effect a pre-ent of the evil in man's nature impervious to the action ce. Of Blaise, the author says, "a sort of spiritual gy had separated him from God—that and his evil "

e later novel, though more ruthless and outspoken in position of evil, has the merit of bringing the heroine, Malaussène, through depths of sin and suffering—in lso the outcome of pride and anger—to humility and tance in the end. Here too we are enabled to perceive ver present possibilities of grace which the soul rejects peril. It is all this that has caused the book to be hailed ne quarters as a great Catholic novel, while in others been received with considerable caution. Not Bourget lf could have given in more subtle analysis the degenera-of Laure's character through twenty-five years until, g last touched by grace, she works her way back to faith victory over death. And the story gains in strength the fact that it takes place in quite commonplace pro-l circles and owes nothing to a setting of elegant wealth. ubtedly M. Daniel-Rops, who is still almost at the outset s career, should prove—with a little more reticence of ssion—a notable addition to the small band of novelists le of so compounding their Faith with their fiction as ake a real contribution to the literature of their country.

V. M. Crawford

THE EXPLOITATION OF THE MINES OF IREL IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

BY M. D. O'SULLIVAN

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THE decision of the present Free State Govern to develop as far as possible Ireland's minera sources lends considerable interest to a similar project spon by the Tudor sovereigns some four hundred years ago. motives of a Henry VIII or an Elizabeth could not, of c be expected to be so altruistic as those of a native go ment; in truth, there was no pretence whatever at devel the resources of Ireland for its own sake—that would been to anticipate modern methods of colonial admin tion. On the contrary, the policy of the English mon was the result merely of their desire to try and make government in Ireland self-supporting; for the strange is that, while private individuals and adventurers of all from England regularly made fortunes in this country government was invariably unable to pay its way— officers of the State and the army," says Sir John D "spent all, and even all was not enough."[1] Accordi the historian Bagwell, Ireland was a source of expense r than of income to the English Crown until after the Res tion. But however that may be, it is certainly true "in Thesauro nihil" is the ever-recurring phrase greets the historical student searching the Pipe Roll information on the public finances, at any rate from reign of Henry III down to the end of the Tudor ré

It is now, of course, a commonplace of archæology Ireland was famous in the very remote ages for its sup of gold, and the recent researches of Sir Flinders Petri only confirm this view, but go to show that its reput in this respect had penetrated even to far-distant ea

[1] *Hist. Disc.*, p. 21.

No doubt the bulk of Irish gold was worked out and
d away quite early in pre-Christian times; but even
fifth century, according to Saint Donatus of Fiesole,
ores of "veiny silver" and "golden ore" in Ireland
"exhaustless." This statement may perhaps be more
esque than accurate, representing an Irishman's
siasm for his native land, still the fact remains that
e as Norman and Plantagenet times the mines of Ireland
regarded as a source of potential wealth, though at
tage the natives, more occupied possibly with the arts
r than the pursuits of peace, do not appear to have
in the habit of working them to any extent.
is not, therefore, altogether a matter of surprise that
nineral resources of Ireland should have quite early
ted the attention of the English invaders, and so we
Edward III, anxious for funds wherewith to prosecute
rench wars, instructing his officials to search for mines
ld and silver in Ireland of whose value he had heard
nost favourable reports. Unfortunately, there is no
l of the results of their survey, if ever, indeed, they
o the length of making one; and shortly afterwards,
to the native renaissance and the consequent shrinking
e English dominion, projects of industrial development
o give way to considerations of a more urgent and serious
cter, for the very fate of English rule in Ireland was
t stake. But even before the end of the fifteenth century
s clear that the Irish revival had largely exhausted
and that the position of the Crown was being strengthened.
rive home its advantage, however, the Government
have funds and thus once more the English kings pro-
d to cast envious glances at the wealth which they
ed to lie at their door in Ireland.
ow seriously the whole matter was envisaged in London
arn from the author of that interesting source of stray
nation about Ireland, the "Libelle of Englyshe Polycye,"
en in 1436. From him we gather that even at this period
esources of Ireland in gold and silver were regarded as
derable, a statement which is corroborated to the full

by the testimony of Father David Wolf, S.J., in his adm
description of Ireland under the Tudors.[1] The na
according to the English writer, were not now skill
working the ore ; and, on the whole, this seems to have
true, for it is a significant fact that contemporary Irish re
are singularly silent on the subject of mines and m
though Father Wolf assures us that the Earl of Tho
had worked his mines so successfully as to draw upon
self the envy of the English Government, who proh
his further efforts. Whatever the truth of the situ
the writer of the " Libelle of Englyshe Polycye " at
was convinced that if only peace could be achieved in Ir
and the English given an opportunity to develop the m
wealth of the country, England might find a really val
source of revenue which would not merely solve some
own domestic problems, but perhaps give her a preponde
influence in Europe, thus anticipating the achieveme
Spain.

With the advent of the Tudors to the throne an
unfolding of their imperialistic policy, we notice a re
interest in Irish mines. But as far as the projected co
of Ireland was concerned, Henry VII, the founder o
new dynasty, did little more than indicate the amb
programme of his house ; the task of translating it into a
with all the commitments which this of necessity inv
fell to his successors, each one of whom in turn played
the idea of exploiting the mines of Ireland as a mea
supplementing the deficiencies of a Treasury hence
charged with burdens which it was in no position to

The subject of the mines with their immense possib
was originally brought to the notice of Henry VIII b
Thomas Agard, an English official in Ireland, abou
year 1540 ; and, as may be imagined, the impecunious mo
eagerly lent his ear to a proposal that they should be w
on behalf of the Government. In spite of Henry's enthus
however, events moved slowly, and it was some six
later before a committee of experts—consisting of " Th

[1] *Cal. Roman State Papers*, Vol. II., p. 163.

of Irlande, Garret Harman of the citie of London, ith, and oone Hans a Dutchman "[1]—was sent to l to investigate the whole matter. The report of this was distinctly favourable, and a government scheme rge scale for developing the mines was outlined. But did not live to see his pet project materialise; for it ot till 1550, in the reign of Edward VI, that it was ly launched. In that year Sir Anthony St. Leger, king up office as Lord Deputy, received instructions rk the silver mines at Clonmines in County Wexford e purpose of supplying the Mint, and he was furnished elaborate details as to how he should proceed. He mongst other things, commissioned to appoint a regular a surveyor and other officers, who would employ as skilled workers and labourers as were required; and operations should prove successful, he was given rity to secure the services of additional men in order the work might be carried out as expeditiously and ably as possible. Though he was to concentrate mainly ver and lead, he was requested also to "make search e mine of alum, and cause the same to be tried, to per- n; and being found good, then to stay the same as it be wrought for us and employed to the best purpose nost profit."[2]

. Leger lost no time in setting about the task enjoined him by his Sovereign; but he was at once confronted a problem which has become familiar to us in modern : the necessary skilled workers were not available in nd—a fact which seems to prove conclusively the neglect e mining industry by the natives—and so he had to rt them. At first, apparently, he sent to Derbyshire niners and smelters; but they do not appear to have , for later he sought his skilled men in Cornwall and many.[3] Some time, naturally, had to elapse before the

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cts of the Privy Council (England), 1542-7, p. 502.
. *Pap. Irel.*, Ed. VI., Vol. II., No. 57—P. R. O., London. For this and the other ipts from the Public Record Office I am indebted to Miss Mary E. O'Dea, M.A., ister M. Philomena, Ursuline Convent, Sligo.
. *Pap. Irel.*, Ed. VI., Vol. II., No. 70—P. R. O., London.

foreigners, especially the Germans or "Almains," as are regularly called, could reach Ireland; and it was into the Summer of 1551 when a small party of them, u the leadership of Joachim Grundalfinger and accompa by Robert Record, an Englishman appointed to the of Surveyor of the Mines in Ireland, landed in the s

State control of industry in the sixteenth century, ever, seemed to suffer from the same defects that it to-day, and before the Germans had even taken a to their hands in Ireland they had already cost the Govern for equipment, travelling expenses, and maintenance n £2,000.[1] Furthermore, the usual jealousies soon made t selves felt amongst the various departments concerned. Irish Privy Council, for instance, over whose heads the Deputy obviously was authorised to act in the matte the mines, so urgent was the business regarded in Lon disapproved of an expenditure which they knew they w have to meet, and they deprecated strongly going s afield as Germany for miners when "it is thought ther here of the King's English subjects that can as well re the ore to metal as the strangers, and also try the s thereof."[2] Besides, between the Germans under their chief and the Englishman at the head of affairs with English and Irish contingents, who were to be taught various processes of the miner's art, there was, as migh expected, no love lost and somehow from the very begin difficulties rapidly accumulated. Still, the English P Council were not to be lightly turned aside from a pro upon which they had set their hearts; so they paid no atten to the complaints from Ireland, but went on with the sch issuing the most careful instructions to Robert Recor to how they wanted the work done.

By the end of July, 1551, the staff at Clonmines at work, and shifts were arranged, so that operations m be continuous night and day. After six months the Gerr claimed to have brought to the surface as much ore as

[1] *St. Pap. Irel.*, Ed. VI., Vol. III., No. 30, P. R. O., London.
[2] *Cal. St. Pap. Irel.* (1509-73), p. 112.

d in six years before their coming"—a statement suggests that prospecting of some description must egun at Clonmines shortly after Agard had first drawn on to the possibilities of the mines there. No doubt penses to date were heavy—the Germans themselves not deny that—yet apart from this rather disquieting , things appeared to be shaping well. But already the end of the year the English Privy Council seemed growing restive, possibly because of the wholly dis-tionate bill of costs, and they began to entertain the f dispensing with the services of the foreigners. In ry, 1552, therefore, they bestirred themselves and to Record for a report on the work, while at the same hey asked Grundalfinger for an account of his steward-This action of the Privy Council gave Record the much l opportunity to undermine the position of the German rs, with whom from the very first he had not been in thy, and he made a series of charges against them stefulness, ending up by stating that if he were allowed ostitute Englishmen, or even Irishmen, he could save a year at first and more later on when the shafts should nk deeper.[1] Grundalfinger, on the other hand, gave s of the operations of the Germans in which he showed if the returns were not so satisfactory as might have xpected, that fact was due mainly to want of co-operation e part of Mr. Record. Not merely did that official refuse pport, but he seemed to seize every occasion to damage restige of the Germans and sabotage the work, all of charges were endorsed by the testimony of Garret an.[2] After this, naturally, relations between Record Grundalfinger did not improve, and in the end the Privy il decided to appoint a Commission of Enquiry to he truth of the whole affair.

he report of the Commission, which went to Ireland in 1552, is exhaustive and illuminating. Every aspect e work and expenditure at Clonmines was examined

[1] *Pap. Irel.*, Ed. VI., Vol. IV, No. 14.—P. R. O., London.
[2] *Id.* No. 17.

and the whole carefully and minutely recorded, so that document is of the utmost historical value. Even b the result of the inquiry was made known, it would that Robert Record was removed from the office of Surv of the Mines; but the final outcome of the Commiss findings was that a complete reorganization of the took place and the engagement of the majority of the Ger was terminated. Nor is this surprising in the circumsta for the expenses had been enormous, and instead of an mated profit of £30,000, the total value of the output to was the miserable sum of £474! Thus the first effo develop Ireland's mineral resources was a disastrous failu

The English Government, nevertheless, did not des If success could be achieved, the prize certainly se valuable; so it was decided to continue the work on a ambitious scale. But the results were scarcely any be and Queen Mary on her accession lost no time in getting views of experts on the cost of working the mines and desirability or otherwise of keeping them open. The re of this fresh inquiry showed again a totally unwarra expenditure, and the Government felt justified in iss orders at once that all work should cease. In any case this time the mines of the New World had brought r to Spain, and the idea of replenishing the Irish Trea by exploiting the mines of the country must have made of an appeal to Mary who, as the wife of Philip II, doul viewed this Irish enterprise in a truer perspective. More while we cannot credit Mary with anticipating the sci of political economy, perhaps the significant fact did escape her that, though every day silver fleets sailed h to Spain bearing their precious cargoes of bullion from mines overseas, the difficulties of Spanish administra were not solved thereby, for Mary was to live to see the Gov ment of her husband go bankrupt.

But in a few short years Mary passed away, and problems which confronted her sister, Elizabeth, were different kind. Spain was now not an ally but a dange rival who for reasons religious, commercial, political, w

nly before long stake all in an effort to overthrow the nment of the heretic Queen of England. In any such ted attack it soon became apparent that Ireland would large—to the Spaniard it was always the back door England. Thus it came to pass that Elizabeth in self- e made up her mind to consolidate her position in d. This meant extending her jurisdiction over the country with a consequent serious increase in the ses of Irish administration. Unlike her sister she could ope to share in the spoils of the mines of the New World; e contrary, she knew only too well that these resources l be thrown into the scale against her. The question nance, therefore, became once more very insistent, and e altered circumstances no possible source of revenue l afford to be neglected. Hence the project of developing Irish mines comes up for review again.

mid all the conflicting estimates of Elizabeth's character is one point upon which historians are substantially d, namely, that there was nothing adventurous in her e-up; she did not like taking risks. Particularly she unwilling to commit her country to any policy involving us outlay. To such a mind as hers, then, it was unthink- that large sums of money should be sunk in the working e Irish mines when the return seemed so problematical. wanted money badly and reports still continued to come bout the wealth that was to be had in Ireland, but in of the experience of her predecessors she did not feel fied in repeating their experiments. The consequence that she chose a *via media:* she decided to farm out Irish mines. This promised her, at any rate, a certain nite income, for she would get a fixed rent for the mining ts; and, after all, if the lessee did not succeed in making fortune, that was his affair. Renting Crown rights in and became quite a feature of Tudor administration, it reached its completest development under Elizabeth. this method, the lands, the fishing, the customs, and ous other sources of Crown revenue were let, at a fixed ual payment, to tenants, generally members of the official

class or English adventurers bent on getting rich quick
On the whole, if not a lucrative policy for the Crown,
procedure was safe from every point of view.

As a matter of fact, the first proposal to lease some
the Irish mines was made in connection with the Clonmi
workings in the year before Elizabeth's accession, tho
it was not put into operation until after she had assu
the reins of government. In 1557 a person, whose iden
is not disclosed, made the suggestion that a lease of the mi
in County Wexford, where operations had only so recen
been discontinued, should be made to anybody willing
work them. The plans for the new scheme are elabora
in what is called a "little and short abstract" preser
among the Carew papers.[1] Notwithstanding its title
is a long document which makes most interesting readi
The idea was that a Mint should be worked in conjunct
with the mines, and the sponsor of the project see
confident that, allowing an annual rent of £10,000 to
Crown, the lessee could still make a clear profit on the w
transaction of over £30,000 per annum.

This proposal, made apparently to somebody of influe
in the Government, undoubtedly had the effect of revi
interest in the matter of the Irish mines, with the re
that in 1559 the project was advanced a stage further w
one Walter Peppard, an English settler, who had alre
received several grants of land in Ireland, made an applicat
for a lease to work the mines in the Clonmines area—incid
tally, these mines seem to have been situated on his o
property. He stipulated clearly, however, that he propo
to operate them in connection with a Mint, and it was o
on that understanding that he would have anything to
with them. The negotiations with Peppard were protract
for he seems to have regarded the terms demanded by
Crown—namely, that he should not merely find suret
but should enter into a bond in regard to the work—as
onerous. He repeatedly applied for the lease, but co
not bring himself to offer more than half the rent requir

[1] *Cal. Carew MSS.*, Vol. I., pp. 268-70.

ı while matters were still in this state he appears to actually started operations. Eventually, in 1562, he ged to strike a satisfactory bargain, and he agreed, gst other things, to find the necessary sureties of £600, , and £200 respectively for the due performance of ntract. But Peppard's very eagerness to secure the seems to have suggested to the Lord Justice Fitzwilliam possibly the mines were worth much more than was ented by the rent charged; and so, though he sent Cecil the bonds entered into by Peppard, he asked o delay granting the lease until he himself should have the ore in his own house. Yet nothing untoward can happened in consequence of this because after some delay Peppard secured the coveted lease.

the meantime, about May 1563, John Challoner, "Secre- for the State of Ireland," applied for a licence to work ıe on his property of Lambay Island, "such as Peppard or Clonmines,"[1] and in the Autumn of the same year ded the further request that the veins of lead at Clontarf Castleknock should be included in his grant. As far .e mine on Lambay Island was concerned, he appears ıve got the necessary licence to undertake operations. ıermore, shortly afterwards we find him negotiating Peppard for the latter's interest in the mines in County ord, which were still regarded as the most likely to a profitable return. Challoner even went to the length riting to Cecil to complain that Peppard was not ful- g the terms of his bargain and to ask that the lease of nines should be transferred to himself. But these very ionable tactics did not succeed, and ultimately, after ıquiry into the whole matter, Peppard's lease was con- d. Nevertheless, private enterprise at Clonmines was nore successful than the original State undertaking. ard lost heavily on the whole business, and in a few ; he abandoned the work, a wiser but a poorer man. ı spite of the disappointments which rapidly overtook Wexford enterprise, Challoner went on with his Lambay

[1] *Cal. St. Pap. Irel.* (1509-73), p. 218.

Island project; but the prospects of making a fortune l were even less than at Clonmines. The mine itself was so valuable, and wood required for smelting, which was be found in abundance at the scene of the mines in Cou Wexford, was entirely lacking in the island, while atten to ship it from Cumberland failed owing to disagreem between the parties concerned in the transaction. It i be regretted that there is no record of the results which atten Challoner's efforts; but they cannot have been very succ ful, for by 1580 the project was definitely given up. T Elizabeth's more modest scheme of renting the mines Ireland, and thereby securing a certain revenue for the Cr came to the same inglorious end as the original ambit programme of the days of Edward VI.

The enterprises at Clonmines and Lambay Island w the most notable incidents in the effort of the Tudors exploit the mineral wealth of Ireland; but other mines known to exist and attracted a certain amount of attent for instance, in Tipperary and Wicklow. We know also a mine was discovered in Connaught by Sir Richard Bingh Governor of the province, who believed that it could be m an economic proposition, though he did not get the op tunity to put his theories to the test. Indeed, every now again we find private individuals, though more often gov ment officials, applying for leave to search for mines and w the deposits; for these adventurous spirits never ceased be fascinated with the idea that here lay an easy road wealth. But nothing came of all these schemes; for, before the sixteenth century closed, the times were thorou out of joint in Ireland, and the warlike conditions, espec of the last two decades of Elizabeth's reign, put an end the hope of any kind of industrial development. The sequent years of the English régime in Ireland witnessed intermittent interest in the mines; but somehow the pro of developing the mineral resources of the country se peculiarly a matter for a native Government, which yet triumph where England failed.

M. D. O'Sulliva

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

XXXV

TO CHRIST

1. Tearc oiḋre dílear ag Dia
a oiḋre ní dílear dó
ní beir ó n-a ḋaoinib Dia
cia nach naoigid cneid an cló.

2. Deag falaḋ an troig 'r an taoḃ
dá guin dá ngabar re a ndíol
do biaḋ [ré] réid gan a fiar
damaḋ é ar mian réir an fíog.

3. Ar n-oigid Dé do bí beo
an té do bí 'r an té a-tá
ní tug neamóg do fáḋ fia
Dia ar ar ngrád i meaḋón mná.

4. Gur daingneaḋ ionn ar an iul
dar gcionn do tairḃreaḋ an taoḃ
do rgoilt ré dár gceann an cíog
níor b'é ar ndíon ar an gceann caol.

5. Dá fagáil do cuaid ón gcló
ran uaig gin go hanáir leo
reacna an báir ar [mbreit] do Dia
acd gér fia an fáir a beid beo.

6. Lá an diomfuiḋte ní trát fíd
ir trát buḋ ionnfuiḋte an uaim
an láran ní lá dá réir
ní céig re gráraiḃ lá an luain.

7. Beid gar n-aimlear ir inn faoi
ní linn dar raiḋbrear acd ré
féagtar munba réid an fí
an fa a ní féin éartar é.

8. Trom doċar a buime ón mbrón
Sid truime a roċar dá fiol
do-Seibtear lé luaS a deor
nac eol d'Uan Dé San ar ndíon.

9. Duine Saoil don mnaoire mé
mo ċaoire ó dá ċaoib nó a trí
re Muire dá bréaSċaoi Saoi
caoi an duine ní héanċaoi í.

10. Do íocfaḋ an ċnú nó an ċaor
a ċrú ir ní hiocfar mon-uar
naċ iomnáir dam̓ San a díol
'r So nSaḃ fioḋ naċ ionnáiḋ uam.

11. Tiocfa a-nall d'iarraiḋ a fiaċ
San diam̓air ann ar a fíoċ
luaS ar déir ní bí fan bráṫ
fí 'n-a tráṫ féin ó naċ fríoṫ.

12. Mó doċar an fíoS a-fír
a ċroċaḋ Séf SníoM̓ San Saoir
So bfuair ré a oiSiḋ dá áir
coim̓in dá ṗáir é ir dá aoir.

13. Do m̓uin deor dúnaḋ an taoiḃ
a dúnaḋ Sin So heol uaim
ar cneiḋ na ciSe a-tá tóir
Sé fíne a cóir So lá an luain.

14. M'óiSe do ḋula fa ḋlaoi
ní móide a cum̓a i Scli
ar Scline ní cuim̓neaċ lé
d'fuiḋleaċ na ré ndíne dí.

15. [Act] Somaḋ ál táṫ an taoiḃ
ir tráṫ dá ráḋ fur an fíS
do ceil freaḃ an ċréaċta an ċóir
ní féanta ḋóiḃ cneaḋ an ċiS.

16. Fuil do ḃall fa láir do leiS
náir ir do ċlann 'n-a dá Scuid
do b'fiu ar riair ar mbuain a broid
an uair do ċroid 'n-a ḋiaiS ḋuid.

17. [Mo] dréimire an crannra ro cíg
damra ir do céiliúde i gcriaid
guair an meadhuighte an mó dúin
rúil a ló an [dealuighte] ro diaig.

18. [Fuair] finn d'anáir ar a hucht
do gabáil linn tar gach loct
ní im bátad do cóid an ceart
acht neart mátar gun óig ort.

19. [Ní fear] aon ar goire ar ngaoil
an taob dear gid oile i n-úir
do threabhlaitre ó chneid an cíg
fin fein re deagfaicrin dúinn.

20. Ar gceann uige ag teacht a-tá
gearr go bruige ceart ro chú
dlaoi ar t'foladh ra brát ní bia
[ba Dia i dtrát an torraid tú].

21. Muire got feitheamh ir Eoin
ár dteicheadh don uile uaid
do bí do clódh ar a céill
nar í fein an óg ar t'uaig.

22. A bruil 'n-a ndeoig d'fuirdleach t'fiach
fa deoig bud cuimneach le cách
ní aithnim dar riain ar fiot
aithinn ar t'fíoch [biaid fa brát].

23. Go gcuire coimlion mo chuil
do foighniom Muire ran meid
ól a cioch an cumain lib
ná rir diol cubaid ro chneid.

24. Nach truagh a éagcruth dá éir
ar n-éagnach re a gruadh mar grír
reic do meic ochta dá áir
docra an fáir a reic a-rír.

25. Fríoch ceart a fionnMuire uaid
an reacht d'iongaire ó nár áil
bean do nige ar gcean ir cóir
gloir [mo nige] ar a mbean [báid].

26. Lóp dap lat dom eadpáin aip
do mac do ceagmáil dod doil
cá bpíg ip do cpeipe ip-doig
gup dluig mo gníom meipe a-muig.

27. Siod ó Muipe Mag-da-léan
do gab le a cpoide do clód
dlige a peacaig púil pe píod
bíod ap t'úid gup peacaig Pól.

28. Ol dige don domblap aoi
ól coddap a pine é
an connpad ap ap ib í
do bí ag congnam le dig nDé.

29. Mad buideac an pí dá péip
puipeac noca bí ap a báid
gpáp Dé noca dtoill 'n-a cpuaill
uainn le poinn é dámad áil.

30. Cóip dap mbpáthaip péagain paoi
d'éanpuil a máthaip ip mé
dá [n-éigtear] pan éagcóip í
ní héadáil dí a léigtear lé.

31. Tpáth a gpáp do gabáil liom
don bár d'pagáil ní bud am
ní peadap nac é bud peapp
ní pé geapp ap eagal ann.

32. Do cuaid ap gcúl pid a ppaoc
gan glún ó pin ap a píoth
[ip é i gcopcpacth na dtpí dtpáth]
ip các d'portacht dí [dá] díoth,

33. Nip maith iadad a dearc dúinn
ceapt gin go hiappad pan uaig
ní beag dó dá copa i gcéill
an pola péin i ló an luain.

34. Ol a lacha leanaid pí
a daltа nac dearaid mé
ap lopa ip beith map do baoi
na naoi miopa do peith é.

35. Fóir a Míċíl inn ó ar n-olc
a Míċíl cinn ar an gceart
lia do fíol na ngrár [do] gort
loċt ag fár dtíom gin gub teart. Teart.

Translation

is the faithful heir of God; man, God's heir—for God does not disown him—
unfaithful to Him; for which of us does not renew the wound of the nail?
oot and side, those two wounds, keep up little resentment if one tries to requite
em; if we decided to do the Lord's will He would be satisfied even though the
ound were not tended.
His death God, He who was and ever is, still lived on; God reclining in a
man's bosom for love of us would not have her called aught but virgin.
body was offered up for us, and so we were firmly established in the true way;
e work of saving us pierced His breast; 'twas no "thin end" of a salvation.
uffer death He passed from the nailing to the grave—though little men honour
im for it; His delaying of His death-hour—though the longer He lived on the
nger He suffered—meant the winning of us to God.
gment Day is no day for pardon; 'tis the day for facing Hell; Judgment Day
no day for serving God; He is not inclined to indulgence on that day.
le we are ruining ourselves by being set on wealth—the only wealth for us is
od—if God is not pleased with us let us think whether we are refusing Him
mething belonging to Him.
ghty the burden which her grief laid on His mother, but weightier the blessing
e brought our race; that the Lamb of God can not but save us is the reward
her tears.
nsman of Mary am I; I can appeal to Mary on several counts if one considers
e matter; not one appeal merely has a man to trust in.
uit or berry (*i.e.* some trifling sacrifice) could purchase Christ's blood, and yet
as I do not purchase it; is it not shameful of me not to requite it, and that I
n not say that it has been appeased?
Doomsday He will come seeking His debt and hiding not His wrath; a tear on
oomsday is vain seeing it has not been shed in time.
t it was of His free will He died makes His crucifying over again (by our sin)—
ad deed!—all the more painful; it recalls to Him His passion and His life.
s (of penance) can close Christ's wounded side—yet I know not if it has been
losed; men are ever attacking it, but it puts off till Doomsday its demand for
stice.
youth is passing, but my heart's sorrow increases not; my flesh remembers not
hat it is a remnant of the Six Generations.
nly men wish Him to close His wound they should now say so to the Lord; they
hould not reject that wound; its blood has covered over the debt.
ame how Thy race divided among themselves paid no heed to Thy blood; when
hough seeing this our sister still believed in Thee, she merited the power to save
s from bondage.
spear through Thy heart and Thy coming on earth for me form my ladder to
leaven; is the danger of the Judgment any the greater for me if I look to Thee
n that day of parting?
pardon of me spite of all my sins is the boon I have got owing to Mary; justice
as come to consist not in my ruin but in Mary's having a mother's power over
Thee.
know of no one nearer in love for us even though Thy wounded right side stand
s a record against us; do Thou turn Thy suffering mind away from Thy wounded
breast to cast a loving regard on us.

20. My journey's end is approaching; soon Thou must have requital for Thy
there shall be no hiding of Thy wrath at Judgment; then thou sh
God gathering Thy harvest.

21. When all had abandoned Thee Mary and John stood by Thee; Thy death s
her mind; she was beside herself at Thy tomb.

22. All men shall then be reminded how much of Thy debt remains for them to s
I can not go warrant (?) to my sister for my pardon; a double edge shal
Thy wrath at Judgment.

23. Mayst Thou place some of Mary's virtues in the scale to make up for my sin
Thou remember drinking at her breast? demand not full payment for Thy

24. When we cried out against Him, the bright-cheeked hero, and when Thy de
was—with His own consent—betrayed for money, was not His pligh
piteous? to betray Him again (by sin) is a worse passion for Him.

25. When men would not keep the law justice was obtained by thee, O fair Mar
right a woman should cleanse my sin; from the glory of having cleansed
wins my love.

26. To save me from thy Son thou knowest 'tis enough that He find out thy wish
matters it that my sins demand that I be declared an outcast as long as th
power in the palace?

27. By Mary Magdalen was peace bestowed on her heart crushed by penance;
O sinner, hast the right to look for pardon; remember that Paul too sa

28. The pact under which Christ drank the gall, that draught which saved H
helped the draught to work its blessing.

29. If the Lord be pleased with our service of Him He tarries not to show His love;
favour can not rest quiet in its covering if we desire its distribution.

30. Our Brother should think of this that His mother and I are of one blood; n
for herself is any concession made her when she is implored in the matte
sin.

31. Now is the time for God's grace to visit me; 'tis not yet the time for me to d
my danger is not shortness of life; perhaps this were even better for

32. His wrath against you has lessened, though no generation has yet sought t
peace with Him, since His lying in His blood for the three hours, and sa
world at His own cost.

33. Though He sought not—as He might have done—to have justice meted to
our death (?), He was wrathful against us for closing His eyes (in deat
Judgment Day it will be enough for us to remind Him of that wrath.

34. His drinking at Mary's breast and His sojourning as He did for the nine mon
bore Him—these things she urges on Him so that He reject me not.

35. O Michael help me out of my evil plight, and prevail over strict justice; thou
grow apace in me, thy garden is richer still in seed of graces.

Notes

(MSS.: H 3 19 f. 14. Readings departed from are given below). No author's
is given.

1 *b* oiʒm 2 *c* mé 4 *d* ʒcaol 5 *a* clo *c* reaċnaḋ; bṁeiṫ
6 *d* ċeiṫ 8 *a* bṁón *d* eol; *cf* Philip Bocht **4** 30 9 *b* no tṁí
bṁeuċaoi *d* hí 10 *a* iocṗa 11 *c* bíṫ *d* míṫ
coimṁin ṫo ṗ. é ⁊ ṫaoiṁ 13 *a* ṫoṁan ṫeoṁ *b* hé uaim; eol; For
cf. Philip Bocht 5.7 15 *a* MS. not clear; áil 16 *a* liʒ
MS. not clear *d* ṫebiṫoi 18 *a* MS. not clear 19 *a* MS. no
c t.a ċ. 20 *d* MS. not clear 21 *b* tteiciṫ *d* hí
MS. not clear 25 *a* c. ó ṗ. *d* MS. not clear 26 *b* ṫa m.; ṫ
d ṫliʒ 27 *b* ṫa cloʒ *d* ṗeacaiṫ 28 *b* hé *c* hí
ma b. *d* hé 30 *c* neicʒeaṁ; hí 32 *c* aṫcoṁcṁaċt ṫi re cṁ
d ca [?]; couplet indistinct in MS. 33 *b* uaiʒ; *Leg.* uaiṁ "pit," Hell, as
34 *b* "reject"? *cf.* Philip Bocht **11** 39 35 *c* aṫ.

TEN YEARS OF EXPORT TRADE 1924-1933

BY EDWARD J. COYNE, S.J.

HE publication last March of the *Trade and Shipping Statistics*, 1933,[1] enables us to make a survey of Saorstát nn's external trade for a period of ten years. We have ly passed the twenty-first anniversary of the beginning e Great War, and normally that date, August 1914, to be regarded as the starting-point of a new period tion in the economic history of Ireland as well as of other ries. The late Professor C. H. Oldham had begun (and, eve, almost completed) an economic survey of the war-l in Ireland, but this has not yet been published. Who-undertakes that task now will have to bring his study the end of 1921 and stop there, for after the Treaty nd as an economic unit ceased to exist, and a new unit, tát Eireann, came into being. Unfortunately, the Statistics for An Saorstát for 1922 and 1923 have never published,[2] and it is not clear whether they were even ted. In 1932 the first of a new series of annual reports, de and Shipping Statistics,"[3] appeared: it dealt with year 1930, but gave the general figures for every year 1924, inclusive—and detailed figures from 1927, inclusive. detailed figures for 1924, 1925 and 1926 are not so readily able. Moreover, this report contained a considerable ber of the 1931 figures, as well as a valuable—if tentative experimental—"Review of Trade in the Years 1924 to ," copiously illustrated by tables and graphs. This iew of trade," to be "included only at the end of each quennium from 1931," is to be a periodical feature of annual reports.

s has been said, the report for 1933 (published last March, gh dated October 1934) closes the ten year period since , the first decade of An Saorstát's trade for which figures

[1] P. No. 1366. [2] P. No. 1366. p. iv. [3] P. No. 590.

have been published. While, however, this ten year p
is the main subject of this article, certain figures for 1934
the first six months of 1935 are available and have
used to show the tendency of trade at the start of
second decade. The aim of the present article is to
(at the risk of misunderstanding and some distortio
simplified picture of what some of the official statistics re
about one small but important section of Saorstát Eire
economic life during the last fourteen years or so. It is h
that it may serve as an encouragement and introductio
the study of the various statistical publications by the ordi
citizens, who are called upon at times to make deci
gravely affecting the economic life of their country and
consequently, ought to have clear knowledge of the a
economic facts. In addition to the annual Trade and Ship
Statistics, the educated citizen ought to be familiar with
figures of the three Census of Industrial Production t
in the years 1926, 1929 and 1931. These are publishe
two volumes, one (P. No. 844) containing the 1926 and
figures, the other (P. No. 1243) those for 1931. The fig
for the less detailed Census of Industrial Production t
in 1932 and 1933 are available in the recent numbers of
Irish Trade Journal. The only Census of Agricultural
duction[1] available is that for 1926-27 (P. No. 132), but
extremely valuable volumes of Agricultural Statist
the first dealing with 1847-1926 (published 1928), the sec
(P. No. 1577) with the period 1927-1933—have appea
Moreover, three useful, if rather tantalisingly reticent, Rep
of the Minister for Agriculture, 1931-32, 1933, 1934 (P.
802, 1119 and 1435), as well as the figures published regul
in the *Irish Trade Journal*, will be found helpful. Fin
to complete the list of official statistics available to d
the annual Statistical Abstract (the latest, 1934, P. No. 1
the Reports of the Revenue Commissioners (the latest,
ninth, for 1931-1932, P. No. 1302) and the Monthly T
Statistics may be added.

[1] The only previous one was taken in 1908 and publishe l in 1912—dealing, of c
with *all* Ireland.

I

e Imports and Exports, the external trade of Saorstát
n, are divided into four " classes " for statistical pur-
:—Class I.—" Live Animals " ; Class II.—" Food, Drink
obacco " ; Class III.—" Other Raw Materials and Manu-
ed Goods " ; Class IV.—" Parcel Post." The first
n an examination of the ten year period is to see the
figures for imports and exports in each year. These
ven in Table I, which is taken from P. No. 1366, p. 2
the addition of 1934 and the first six months of 1935).

Table I

External Trade of Saorstát Eireann : 1924-1934

Imports		Re-Exports		Exports (Domestic Prod.)		Total Trade		Balance of Trade.	
Value	Index No.	Value	Index No.	Value	Index No.	Value	Index No.	Value	Index No.
£		£		£		£		£	
38,890,000	*100*	1,304,000	*100*	50,281,000	*100*	120,475,000	*100*	17,306,000	*100*
32,950,000	*91*	1,008,000	*77*	43,374,000	*86*	107,331,000	*89*	18,569,000	*107*
31,286,000	*89*	771,000	*59*	41,185,000	*82*	103,243,000	*86*	19,329,000	*112*
30,824,000	*88*	684,000	*52*	44,168,000	*88*	105,676,000	*88*	15,972,000	*92*
59,862,000	*87*	714,000	*55*	45,591,000	*91*	106,167,000	*88*	13,557,000	*78*
31,316,000	*89*	1,066,000	*82*	46,805,000	*93*	109,187,000	*91*	13,445,000	*78*
56,776,000	*82*	1,178,000	*90*	44,568,000	*89*	102,521,000	*85*	11,031,000	*64*
50,461,000	*73*	795,000	*61*	36,276,000	*72*	87,532,000	*73*	13,390,000	*77*
42,574,000	*62*	1,137,000	*87*	25,803,000	*51*	69,514,000	*58*	15,634,000	*90*
35,789,000	*52*	582,000	*45*	19,069,000	*38*	55,440,000	*46*	16,138,000	*93*
39,066,000	*57*	351,005	*26*	18,245,000	*37*	57,670,000	*48*	20,461,000	*115*
18,423,000	—	160,000	—	9,178,000	—	27,602,000	—	9,254,000	—

e figures are so plain and at the same time so general
no comment is likely to be helpful. But attention may
rawn to the following facts : (1) that the year 1924 was
bnormal year with regard to the very large value of our
e ; (2) that our *import* trade fell steadily in value from
to 1933, with but a very slight check in 1929 ; (3) that
export trade fluctuated till 1929, when it began to fall

n comparison with the first six months of 1934, our imports are down by £1,000,000, our exports are up by £500,000.

steadily to 1934, but seems to have slowed up its fall definit and to be recovering in 1935 ; (4) that the so-called " adverse balance of trade, having fallen from £19,000,000 (out of total trade of £103,000,000) in 1926 to £11,000,000 (out o total trade of £102,000,000) in 1930, has risen again £20,460,000 (out of a total trade of £57,670,000) in 19 The chief point to notice is the date on which the rise or commenced : the crucial years 1928 and 1929. As for " adverse " balance of trade, it must be recalled that word " adverse " is a question-begging qualification : mere fact that we import more than we export is, of its no reason for considering our economic position " adverse."

II

From now on we drop the imports and concentrate attention on the exports, both for simplicity and clari sake and because much more can be learned of the econo life of a country from its exports than from its imports. Table II are set out once again the figures for the value our exports of domestic produce, with a percentage scal well, and there is added a revaluation of each year at 1930 prices. This latter addition will be explained in a mom It will be seen that from 1926 the movement of the act value was upwards to a peak year, 1929, when exports touc £46,805,000. This figure is considerably below the 1 figure, £50,281,000, but as has been said the year 1924 abnormal. From 1929 to 1934 there has been a continu fall in the total value of our exports of domestic produc slow for the first year, but then extraordinarily steep 1933-34, when the downward movement was slowed The first six months of 1935 (January to June 30th) sho rise in the value of exports (£9,179,000) compared with corresponding months of 1934 (£8,647,000). Taking the f year of the ten year period, 1924, as 100, the tenth year, 19 is 38·5 ; the peak-year,[1] 1929, being 93. The greater p of the fall in value from 1929 to 1934 (a fall of £28,551,0

[1] Using " peak-year " to denote the end of a rise and the commencement of a fall

ed in three "steps": from 1930 to 1931 a "step" of £8,292,000; from 1931 to 1932 a "step" of 3,000; and from 1932 to 1933 a "step" of £6,734,000.

TABLE II

ue of Export Trade of Domestic Produce of Saorstát Eireann 1924-1934

r	Actual Value	Per cent. of 1924	Valued at 1930 Prices	Export Price Index No.
	£		£	
...	50,280,743	100	45,918,000	109·5
...	43,373,531	86	37,842,000	114·6
...	41,185,379	82	37,262,000	110·5
...	44,168,118	88	42,370,000	104·2
...	45,591,094	91	43,950,000	103·7
...	46,804,561	93	44,431,000	105·3
...	44,567,584	89	44,567,000	100
...	36,276,118	72	40,084,000	90·5
...	25,802,924	51	32,870,000	78·5
...	19,069,219	38·5	29,409,000	64·5
...	18,253,526	37·5	*Not available*	
...	9,178,574 (6 months)	—	"	"

ertain events of economic importance which fall within en year period should be borne in mind when examining figures: (*a*) In 1925 the establishment in England of a bullion standard instead of the pre-war gold specie ard, but at the old parity; (*b*) in 1928 the establishment ance of a gold bullion standard at a parity of $\frac{1}{5}$ of the er franc (franc de Germinal = 0·3225 gr. of gold: the (25 June 1928) franc = 0·0655); (*c*) in 1928 the introon of the "five year plan" in Russia, rapidly upsetting imber, wheat and oil markets of Europe and Asia, and ng to the crisis in central Europe; (*d*) the rise of Hitler

and the National Socialist Party in Germany (October 19
the collapse of the Austrian Credit-Anstalt in May
followed by the German banking crisis (13 July 1931
Danat Bank crash), leading to the English crisis of 20 Oct
1931, when England suspended the gold bullion stan
and let the price of gold soar (in English currency)
£3 17s. 10d. per oz. to (eventually) something over £7
oz.; (*e*) the German "reparations" confusion and the i
Allied war debt payments and repudiations; the Ame
crisis (March 1933) and the English default on the Ame
debt. In domestic affairs we had a tentative tariff p
up to 1932; the currency linked, in 1927, to the En
pound sterling; the initiation of beet growing and
manufacture; and the completion of the Shannon sc
A change of Government in Spring 1932 was followed
vigorous tariff policy, a system of price-fixing and bo
to promote tillage, the encouragement to set up indus
the halving of the annuities, and the "economic war."

The third column of Table II. gives the export tra
each year valued at 1930 prices. Fluctations in the va
trade are due to changes in one or both of two factors
either in the prices of the commodities exported; or
the volume (quantities) exported. The effect of the
factor is eliminated by revaluing the trade of each year a
prices of one given year. This is done by using the
numbers for prices—in this case the export price
number, the year chosen (and well chosen) being 1930.
this column it can be seen that the fall in the value of ex
from 1930-31 (£8,000,000) was due to a considerable e
(more than 50 per cent.) to a fall in prices. The same is
portionately true of the following years. There has b
contraction in the volume (quantities) of goods exported
nothing like that implied by the figures of "actual va
(1st column). Prices, export prices, have been falling ste
since 1925 (the year England set up her gold bullion stand
in that year this index number was 114·6, while in 1933
index number was down to 64·5. This fall has been espe
steep since 1930, nearly 10 points in 1931, 12 in 1932

1933—36 points in three years, whereas there was only l of 14 points in the six years previous to 1930.

chapter of the Annual Report of the Trade and Shipping stics for 1930 (P. No. 590, p. xliii) explains these import export index numbers and gives them for a series of s. They can also be found in the Statistical Abstract. ntion is drawn in the Trade and Shipping Statistics to significance of these numbers for the first period of our year survey, 1924-1931. "Comparing 1929 (when the re fall in world prices began) with 1931, it will be seen while import prices fell by 24 points, export prices fell nly 15 points. Throughout the eight years import prices

IMPORT AND EXPORT PRICES INDEX NUMBERS

Year	Import	Export
1924	125·1	109·5
1925	123·9	114·6
1926	120·6	110·5
1927	114·9	104·2
1928	112·4	103·7
1929	109·3	105·3
1930	100·0	100·0
1931	85·0	90·5
1932	83·3	78·5
1933	77·5	64·5

continuously, while the movement of export prices was gular. It will be seen that, as a result of these different ıds, the commodities exchange has moved very favourably this country during the last few years: if in 1924 100 ts of imported goods exchanged for 100 units of home duce, the latter in 1931 exchanged for 122 units of imported ds." Since this was written (May 1932) the trend has not n so favourable.

As the export prices have fallen continuously and steeply ce 1929, while the import prices (though still falling) were

not so rapid or precipitous in their fall, in 1932 and 19
we find export prices greatly below the import prices.
take and adapt the example given in the Trades and Shipp
Statistics, 1930, p. xliii, quoted above :—if in 1931, 100 un
of home produce exchanged for 122 units of imported goo
in 1933 the situation was reversed—100 units of home prod
would only buy 69·4 units of imported goods. In other wor
in 1933 (and probably 1934 also) we had to work harder a
get less for our work ; we had to sell in a cheap and fall
market, and buy in a dear one.

What emerges from the third column of Table II, t
fairest guide to our export trade ? For the three years 19
1929 and 1930 our export trade held its own even with fall
export prices—in 1930 it reached its peak. Since then,
volume of export trade has shrunk very noticeably, rep
sented by the figures £44,567,000 worth in 1930 and £29,409,
worth (at same prices) in 1933—and still less in 1934 : th
is, a drop of £15,000,000 worth. This is bad enough.
unfortunately not only has the volume shrunk by appro
mately one-third of the 1930 volume, but the actual value
the volume exported has fallen catastrophically since 19
the peak year of actual value. Instead of getting £29,409,
for the quantity of goods we exported in 1933, as we sho
have if prices had remained steady at 1930 level, we only
£19,000,000—a loss of £10,500,000 or just one-third. In oth
words, between 1930 and 1933 the volume of our expo
shrank by one-third and the price we were paid for th
shrunken volume was also one-third lower. We may add
complete the picture, though we shall not examine it furth
here, that the " adverse " balance in 1930 was £11,000,0
one-fourth of our exports and one-fifth of our imports th
year ; in 1934 it had risen to £20,461,000—that is, £2,000,0
more than our exports and more than one-half of the value
our imports. The total " adverse " balance for the wh
eleven years amounted to £174,000,000, an average
£15,800,000 per annum. Needless to say, foreign countr
do not make us a present of £15,800,000 worth of goods ea
year, nor do we export £15,800,000 worth of gold bullion ea

Allowing for the difference in valuing c.i.f. for imports ..o.b. for exports, the "adverse" balance must be ned by (*a*) a stoppage of Irish investment abroad; (*b*) ng out of Irish capital invested abroad; (*c*) the interest sh capital invested; (*d*) the borrowing by Irishmen of ı capital; (*e*) certain other "invisible exports" of less tance. It is quite likely that (*a*) is true. As for (*b*), ritish Government and India Stock on the registers of nk of Ireland fell from £89,000,000 in 1925 to £59,500,000 2. It does not seem likely that (*d*) is responsible for any amount; An Saorstát is not being developed with n money, though for the last couple of years the import pital goods, machinery, etc., may have increased our edness. Without much more detailed figures and nation than are at present available it is not easy to nt fully for that £20,461,000, though interest from d, the retention of the annuities, the Sweepstakes, and ale of foreign investments, must have some effect.

III

far we have been examining only the total figures of xport. We have now to break up these totals and dis- e the figures among the four "classes" of exports oned above. This is done in Table III. As each of these ses" will be examined separately, only a very few al remarks are called for by this Table.

ass I, "Live Animals," shows an altogether extra- ary fall in value from £22,000,000 in 1924, or £21,000,000 30 to £6,000,000 in 1934. As we shall see the causes of all are (about equally) a fall in the quantity (number) ted and a fall in the price per head. From 1925 on had been a steady rise of half-a-million or more each in the value of live animal exports till a peak year 1930. began a steep fall, the first "step" being nearly 0,000 downwards in 1931, then a huge "step" of 0,000 down in 1932, followed by £4,300,000 in 1933. hose three years the value of Class I. dropped by

£13,500,000. However, everything points to a check in fall in 1935, and either a stabilisation at the very low fi of £6,000,000 or a slight rise.

TABLE III

Export Trade (Domestic Produce) Valued by Class

Year	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class I
1924 ...	22,176,000	21,189,000	5,084,000	1,832,00
1925 ...	16,903,000	20,654,000	4,228,000	1,588,00
1926 ...	17,503,000	19,249,000	3,473,000	959,00
1927 ...	18,098,000	20,906,000	4,192,000	972,00
1928 ...	19,240,000	21,173,000	4,396,000	782,00
1929 ...	19,695,000	20,552,000	5,816,000	742,00
1930 ...	21,051,000	17,392,000	5,437,000	687,00
1931 ...	18,328,000	14,422,000	2,878,000	649,00
1932 ...	11,890,000	11,014,000	2,370,000	529,00
1933 ...	7,512,000	9,492,000	1,800,000	266,00
1934 ...	6,115,000	10,112,000	1,777,000	249,00
1935, Jan.–June	3,072,654	5,077,242	917,111	111,56
1934, Jan.–June	2,761,865	4,832,790	936,354	116,44

Class II, "Food, Drink and Tobacco," also shows a g fall between 1924 or 1928 and 1934. But the fall is no great as in Class I; it begins in a different year (two y earlier), and was checked and reversed in 1934. This "cla remains remarkably steady at about £20,000,000 per ann for the first six years of our ten year period, but then it by 50 per cent.—£10,000,000 in four years, the fall c mencing in 1929 and ending at £9,492,000 in 1933. export price index figures for the various "classes" do seem to have been published: it would be of interest

to see where the chief cause of the fall of Class II lass III) lies, whether in volume or in prices.

ss III, "Other Raw Materials and Manufactured ," shows a fall almost exactly proportionate to that of I. In this "class" the value of exports fluctuated en 1924 and 1929, falling greatly in 1926, but then to a peak of £5,816,000 in 1929. Then there came a nearly 50 per cent.—£2,500,000—in 1931, and so down to 7,000 in 1934, where it seems to have ceased.

ass IV, "Parcel Post," bids fair to disappear altogether. since 1924, when it was nearly £2,000,000 in value, till (£250,000) it has continued to fall. This cannot be nted for by saying that the parcel post is divided over es II and III since the imposition of duties or for classi- on purposes. For we are told definitely that while this e of parcel post imports, it is not true of exports, all of are included in one total. It is possible to explain it, urse, by the fact that customs declarations have to be up, which is a nuisance, or by the high rates of the postal . But there seems to be some more fundamental reason d the phenomenal drop from a value of £1,832,000 to 000 in eleven years. It might be well worth trying to rage exports by parcel post by halving the rate, the national adjustments being paid by the Exchequer as d of bounty. An Saorstát is much more likely to export l parcels of goods—eggs, butter, woollens, lace, linen— to export in bulk. This Class IV cannot be examined ny greater detail, as no details are published in the stics, only the total being given. Although the Minister Posts may have given some explanation of these ten year es either in some annual report or in An Dáil, it certainly ot well known or easily available.

IV

We now have to go back and take up Class I and examine detail. It comprises the exports of "live animals" and des thirty-five items. The animals explicitly dealt with

are (i) Cattle, (ii) Sheep and Lambs, (iii) Pigs, (iv) Go
(v) Rabbits, (vi) Poultry, (vii) Game, (viii) Horses, (ix) M
and Jennets, (x) Asses, and there is an unspecified gr
of "Other Live Animals." The relative importance of
exports of each kind of animal and the various items ma
estimated from the following figures. In 1933 "catt
(items 1 to 11) were exported to the value of £6,054,827
other kinds of animals (items 12 to 35) amounted in valu
£1,456,805—the total of the whole "class" being £7,511,
If we were to take out "horses" from all the other anim
then the value of the live animals exported, excluding "catt
and "horses," was only £672,290. If further we were
remove "sheep" (items 12 to 14) as well, the value o
other live animals would be only £352,976. And finall
to cattle, horses and sheep, we add "pigs" (items 15 to
then these four "live animals" account for so much of
total value of this Class I. (£7,511,632) that only £42,5
left to be accounted for. Hence for practical purposes we
neglect all live animals except cattle, horses, sheep and p

Now in 1933 the value of the exports of pigs was
the value of the exports of cattle; sheep also were
cattle; while horses were a little over $\frac{1}{8}$—the value o
three being only $\frac{1}{5}$ of the value of cattle. These propor
are something quite new in this "class." In 1927 h
and pigs were each $\frac{1}{5}$ of the value of cattle exported, w
sheep were just $\frac{1}{9}$—all three amounting to just half of
value of cattle. In 1930, the "peak" year for the valu
cattle exports, horses were $\frac{1}{7}$ of cattle, pigs nearly $\frac{1}{6}$, and sh
$\frac{1}{10}$; all three being not much less than half of the ca
The value of the exported cattle has fallen greatly, as is
and well-known, but the value and the number of the exp
of the other three kinds of live animals have fallen so m
that the former proportions between the different bran
of the trade have been completely upset. Table IV g
the figures for the numbers and values of the exports of t
four kinds of live animals from 1927 to 1934—adding
cattle alone the 1924 to 1926 figures, which are not so e
available for the other three. The figures for the first

ns of 1935 have been also added, with the corresponding s for 1934, to enable comparison of the trend of this nt year to be made.

TABLE IV

NUMBER AND VALUE OF EXPORTS OF CERTAIN LIVE ANIMALS, 1924-1934

YEAR	CATTLE		HORSES		SHEEP		PIGS	
	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value	No.	Value
		£		£		£		£
... ...	943,000	17,275,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
... ...	694,000	12,995,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
... ...	636,000	12,153,000	—	—	—	—	—	—
... ...	646,000	11,869,000	12,274	2,216,000	584,000	1,325,000	385,000	2,318,000
... ...	749,000	13,169,000	11,715	2,505,000	586,000	1,377,000	315,000	1,872,000
... ...	775,000	13,549,000	10,898	2,518,000	577,000	1,382,000	307,000	1,933,000
... ...	858,000	14,674,000	10,749	2,123,000	563,000	1,351,000	409,000	2,582,000
... ...	766,000	12,670,000	10,818	1,961,000	555,000	1,175,000	476,000	2,186,000
... ...	645,000	8,747,000	8,981	1,295,000	432,000	632,000	303,000	983,000
... ...	590,000	6,055,000	8,351	785,000	317,000	319,000	143,000	310,000
... ...	511,000	4,258,000	12,959	992,000	365,000	442,000	134,000	371,000
an.–June ...	291,275	2,236,881	6,311	462,090	148,657	206,758	45,066	154,323
an.–June ...	223,276	1,844,148	5,561	460,014	192,010	232,712	86,432	209,090

t will be seen at once that the "peak" years were 1929 1930. Since then the value of cattle has fallen from millions (1930) to 4·3 millions in 1934. Horses fell from millions in 1929 to ·8 millions in 1933, but rose again 934 to almost 1 million. Sheep fell from 1·4 millions in) to ·3 millions in 1933, but rose again to ·4 millions in 4. Pigs fell from 2·6 millions in 1930 to ·3 millions in 3, but rose to ·37 millions in 1934. It may well be that year 1933 has seen the cessation of the fall in the value he exports of these last three, and that 1934 will be the est figure for cattle. The first two months of 1935 looked , as the exports had fallen by £65,000 (5,700 head) in uary 1935 and by £20,300 (300 head) in February 1935 compared with the same months in 1934. But in March 5, the Coal-Cattle Pact began to show its effect, and the ent removal of the quota restriction on stores will still

further help to maintain the figures. The following tab gives the latest figures available for 1935 :—

TABLE V

1935 Month	VALUE OF EXPORTS OF CERTAIN LIVE ANIMALS, 1935			
	Cattle	Horses	Sheep	Pigs
	£	£	£	£
January	302,315	74,996	24,297	34,083
February ...	304,606	122,010	18,494	37,843
March	511,123	82,312	20,473	33,902
April	437,571	56,636	31,752	16,765
May	371,578	44,295	65,447	18,686
June	309,688	81,841	46,295	13,044

Thus, there has been a distinct improvement in the expo of cattle as regards numbers and total value, though t average price per head is still inclined to fall. The numb of horses exported in the first six months of 1935 is up 750, but the value of this greater number is almost the sa as the value of the smaller number last year. The number sheep exported is down by 43,000. Both in number and va the exports of pigs have fallen greatly, but the average pr seems to have risen noticeably. The fall in live pig expor is accounted for by the expansion of bacon curing in A Saorstát and is balanced by a greatly increased export bacon and hams : 218,324 cwts. (£655,656) in 1935 (6 month compared with 157,776 (£486,710) in 1934 (6 months).

This article is no more than a general introduction to o economic position as an exporting country. In a furth article we shall narrow down our examination and concentra on one section, the most important, of Class I—namely, Catt

E. J. COYNE

ɪGE FAULKNER AND JONATHAN SWIFT

BY CHARLES O'CONOR, S.J.

E undying interest maintained in both the character and writings of Jonathan Swift is clearly evidenced fact that hardly a year passes without some addition already numerous works written about him. In the of the last five years three different biographies have ed.[1] Apart from them Mr. Harold Williams,[2] a keen student, has endeavoured by careful examination of d catalogues to provide us with an inventory of Swift's and even to reconstruct shelf by shelf the disposition books in the deanery library, where so many of Swift's hours were spent; Dr. Van Doren[3] has tried to gauge measure according to the canons of modern psycho- ogy; Professor Nichol Smith of America has produced tion of *Swift's Letters to Ford* (1935); and most recent Mr. Herbert Davis, also an American, has brought out larly edition of the *Drapier Letters* which has won well d praise from the reviewers.

premeditatedly, it seems, the appearance of Mr. Davis's n of the *Drapier Letters* coincides exactly with the enary of the first complete edition of these letters ever d. Prior to 1735, five *Drapier Letters* only had appeared. xth and seventh, though written, had not been published ight have remained indefinitely in obscurity, had they een secured by George Faulkner from some of Swift's s for inclusion in an edition of Swift's works upon which s engaged.

the execution of this edition Faulkner claims to have he personal supervision of Dean Swift himself. And e a certain unsatisfactoriness about some of Swift's tterances upon the subject, there does not seem to be

[1] *of Swift* by Carl van Doren, 1931. *Life and Friendships of Dean Swift* by S. 1933. *Jonathan Swift* by W. D. Taylor, 1933.

[2] *n Swift's Library*, 1932.

[3] *Investigation into the Character of Jonathan Swift*, 1932.

any sufficient reason for disallowing the boast. In a nu
of the *Dublin Journal* for Sept. 29th–Oct. 2nd, 1744, Fau
offered his readers an explanation of the events which le
to his edition of Swift's works and a guarantee of the
bility of what he printed. The passage runs :—

Some years ago a collection of miscellaneous pieces were publ
in one volume and afterwards in two, under the name of *Swift*
cellanies; although few pieces therein were wrote by him, an
not make a sixth part of the work, some of which were not ca
distinguish from his writings, and were very incorrectly printed wi
notes to them ; upon which many friends of Dr. Swift's appli
the Printer hereof, who had published many pamphlets of h
different times, to make a complete collection of his works ; to
the Author was pleased to consent, and was so kind as to corr
whole work, ready for printing, and, in order to have them a
in the most accurate manner, the Author was pleased to revis
Proof Sheet before it was put in the Press, by which means th
of his works that appeared are now more correct than those
were published without his knowledge or consent.

In the introduction to the edition of Dean Swift's
referred to here and published by him in 1735,[1] G
Faulkner had not given quite as explicit an account. H
alluded to Swift's disinclination to countenance the
cation—Swift sighed for an English edition[2]—he conti
" Our Arguments (*i.e.*, in favour of publication in D
were of little affect further than the supposed Autho
prevailed upon to suffer some Friends to review and c
the Sheets after they were printed : and sometimes he
descended, as we have heard, to give them his own opin
On the other hand, in Lord Orrery's *Remarks on the Lif
Writings of Dean Swift* (1752) we are informed—though
source is not perhaps above suspicion of taint, since G
Faulkner was Lord Orrery's publisher—that " Mr. Fau

[1] A claim made in the year 1856 by one of the contributors to *Notes and Queri*
Series, Vol. 2) that he had a volume of a 1734 edition of Swift's Works was a c
animated controversy for several months. In the end a detailed examination
volume under discussion, while justifying all the data upon which A's case was
failed to place the matter entirely beyond dispute. Faulkner undoubtedly ha
sets of Swift's Works in 12mo and 8vo ready in 1734, but did not formally publis
till 1735.

[2] Swift was by no means averse to having his Works collected and published.
rather greatly flattered by the interest and enthusiasm shown by his friends.
regretted was that the publication could not be effected in London instead of
Cf. E. Ball : *Correspondence.* Vol. 2. pp. 225, 338-40 ; Vol. 5 : pp. 179-80.

he advantage of printing his edition by the consent pprobation of the Author himself. The four first volumes published by subscription, and every Sheet of them was ht to the Dean for his revisal and correction. The ext were published in the same manner."[1] Lord Orrery ot base this observation upon hearsay or anything that ner himself had advanced on the subject. On the con- he founded his observation upon personal acquaintance the Dean "at the time."

ut if in the end, George Faulkner, by the good offices of iends, did succeed in securing the personal co-operation an Swift in the production of his edition of the Dean's s in 1735, this victory was not won without a struggle. seems to have taken a certain malicious satisfaction e price he exacted in return. In a letter to the Earl of rd, dated 30 August 1734, we find the following lines :—

; to the Printer [the Earl of Oxford in a previous letter had been ring about the delay in the appearance of the Works], all he has or will do in the matter is against my will. Neither have I con- d myself further with him than to let him know that if he publish ning offensive or unworthy as mine, he should have cause to repent could not go further, as neither Printers nor Booksellers have property here as in London. The man is very submissive, and I no remedy but patience. He hath gotten several copies from riends, which I suffered them several years ago to take, and I am d to be passive in what is done with them. In London the things bed to me are in the hands of different proprietors, else I could prevented this evil here. I have put the man under some diffi- es by ordering certain things to be struck out after they were ed, which some friends had given him. This hath delayed his and, as I hear, given him much trouble and difficulty to adjust.[2] her I know not, for the whole affair is a great vexation to me.[3]

By the time that George Faulkner arrived at the publi- on of a second edition of Swift's Works, twenty-seven s later (1762), any harsh memories he may have had about e early times seem to have passed into oblivion. For in

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Op. cit., p. 81.

A further cause of delay, not mentioned here, was the fact that several sets of Swift's s were stolen from Faulkner's shop when all but ready to be "delivered to the sub- ers." Cf. *Correspondence* (Ball), Vol. 5, Appendix V.

Correspondence, Vol. 5, p. 85.

the introduction to this new edition he recalls in some de for the reassurance of his readers, the circumstances u which the first was produced. Proposals having been seminated and the response communicated to Dean S he consented to the printing on the following condition

That no Jobb should be made but full value given for the mo that the Editor should attend him early every Morning, or when convenient, to read to him, that the Sounds might strike the e well as the Sense the Understanding and had always two Men Ser present for this Purpose : and when he had any Doubt, he would them the meaning of what they heard ; which if they did not prehend, he would alter and amend until they understood it perf well and then would say *This will do ; for I write to the Vulgar than to the Learned.* Not satisfied with this preparation for the P he corrected every Sheet of the first seven volumes which were publ during his Life Time, desiring the Editor to write notes being younger than the Dean, acquainted with most of the Transac of his Life as well as those of several of his Friends ; the Author very communicative to the Editor ; who if there should be any E in them, will be glad to be set right, and will, with pleasure, pr Errata for that Purpose, to render this Edition as correct as poss

That George Faulkner should have enjoyed such fa cavalier though it was of its kind, from the " crabbed " D of St. Patrick's gives him surely a title to fuller mention connection with Swift and his Works, than he usually rece There are probably few of Swift's circle of friends about wh in general, less is known, a fact at once regrettable and prising, though not so difficult to explain. For though t is still a considerable amount of information about Ge Faulkner available, it is scattered and not easy to collec

A rather unsympathetic article in the *Dictionary National Biography* gives a list of printed sources w information about Faulkner may be found. But it is far f complete and strangely omits what is in many ways a prim though not too exact, source—a Memoir on Faulkner publis immediately after his death, in the *Hibernian Magazine* September and October 1775. This list may be further s plemented by reference to the second volume of Dr. Rich Madden's *History of Irish Periodical Literature from*

[1] Op. cit. " To the Reader."

to the 19th Century, where a long essay on ner and his *Dublin Journal* is to be found. Valuable nation may also be gleaned from the columns of the *n Journal* itself and from other similar publications e time. Something, too, can be learned from a number npoons published at Faulkner's expense during his life- and his name also appears here and there in the Journals e Irish House of Lords and Commons, the displeasure of e members he now and then incurred. A number of raph letters and papers—some of them written by ner, others about him—are moreover preserved in the h Museum and in the Royal Irish Academy. Others, told, have found their way across the Atlantic as far nerica.

eorge Faulkner was one of those happy children of fortune from small beginnings work their way to the forefront e life of their times. Though of humble origin, he could ne middle of the eighteenth century write, without the suspicion of affectation, that few visitors came to the of Dublin who failed to call upon him.

he turmoil of the seventeenth century—though unfor-ely not all it stood for in the way of religious persecution s passed when in 1699 George Faulkner was born.[1] "He the son of a butcher of eminence in his profession and ected in trade with some of the first merchants, the exports is country being then principally provisions."[2] Of his life little more is upon record than his attendance at Lloyd's school, where he appears to have shown promise student and to have developed a taste for letters. Perhaps accounts for the fact that, when of an age to learn a e, he was apprenticed to a bookseller instead of taking position in his father's business, as might have been

his is the more usually accepted date of Faulkner's birth. It is the one given in tice of his death in the *Dublin Journal* and in the Memoir in the *Hibernian Magazine*. lso the date on his tombstone. George Faulkner, however, would seem to have ed 1701 as the year in which he was born. In a letter written in 1774 (Nichol's *y Anecdotes* Vol. 3, page 208) he speaks of being "very old (72 years) and infirm." e in his handwriting in the British Museum restates this view. There he writes: , I George Faulkner was 71 years old and entered into my 72nd year, for which I my most humble and grateful thanks to my Creator and Supporter and Benefactor, Almighty and Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer."

Hibernian Magazine, September 1775.

expected. The man with whom he served his time in printing trade was a certain Thomas Hume, of Dame Str Before long George Faulkner, almost legendwise, was wh heartedly in love with his master's daughter. Miss Hu at first recriprocated his attachment; but when later proposition of getting married became practicable, she tur aside and left him disillusioned. This may in part exp why, when his apprenticeship in Dublin was over, Geo Faulkner betook himself to London to seek employment a journeyman. Here he was fortunate enough to enter service of William Bowyer, one of the most prominent prin in England at the time, whose "politeness and civili to him in this "early part of (his) life" he claimed he wo never forget. About forty years later in 1767, he wri "When I was a journeyman to him who was then the m distinguished Master Printer in London for his knowle and integrity, his father and he both treated me with highest respect and familiarity, doing me the favour to h me at their table to dine, drink tea, and sup with them, wh was not customary in the year 1726."[1]

The implication in these lines seems to be that 1726 the year during which Faulkner was in Bowyer's emp But it is clear from other sources[2] that at this time Geo Faulkner was and for some time had been carrying o business of his own in Pembroke Court, Dublin. The c fusion of dates may be due to the fact that Faulkner pai visit to London in 1726, "upon his own business and priv affairs,"[3] during which he no doubt renewed the frien relations established a year or two earlier with Bowyer

During the opening years of the eighteenth century printing trade in Dublin was not very brisk. But from ab 1720 onwards it gained a considerable impetus. As aga seventeen printers who began business in Dublin during twenty years prior to George Faulkner's entry into the tr (1704-1724), some eighty tried their hands at it during

[1] *Nichol's Literary Anecdotes*, Vol. 3, p. 208.

[2] *His. of Irish Per. Lit.* (Madden), Vol. 1, p. 261; Files of the *Dublin Journal*; *logue of the Gilbert Library*, Charleville Mall, under "Dublin Newspapers"; Pamp of the time.

[3] 1762 edition of *Swift's Works*, Vol. 1, p. iv.

years (1724-1744) subsequent to his début. Not all se succeeded. Some made little more than a start and ll out; others kept going for a few years before giving he majority just managed to sustain a precarious liveli- s long as they lived—but precarious it was, for there o press laws in Ireland at the time, or rather no laws yright to safeguard printers and their interests. On e hand the most shameless pirating was common among nters themselves, and on the other hand stern measure eted out to them if they offended against the Govern- or the Members of Parliament.

all the printers of his time in Dublin, George Faulkner doubtedly the most successful. Already in 1732 Swift of him as the "Prince of Dublin Printers," and in his for 1735 we find such appreciations of Faulkner as famous printer"; "an honest man and the chief "; "the printer most in vogue and a great under- "[1] But for all this Faulkner had an uphill struggle at art.

March 1725 Faulkner brought out the first number of eekly newspaper, which he named *The Dublin Journal*.[2] lier journal of the same name seems at this time to have to be published, though the usurpation of the titles another's papers was not a matter about which early enth century printers of Dublin were any way sensitive. 27 Faulkner's headquarters for the paper, which had to been Pembroke Court, were changed to Christ-Church whence issued any pamphlets published by him that But to trace the history of his business and especially *Dublin Journal* during these early years is by no means sy task. The available information is too meagre and

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respondence (E. Ball), Vol. 4, p. 389; Vol. 5, p. 221, p. 222, p. 225.

first number was published on March 27th, 1725. Dr. Madden, who traced a his number, embodied its contents in extenso in the second volume of his *History Periodical Literature*. The most varied dates are in general given by different for the beginning of the *Dublin Journal*. The Memoir in the *Hibernian Magazine* 1724; Sir John Gilbert in his *History of Dublin*, Vol. 2, says 1727, while the article *ict. of National Biography* says 1728. Once begun the Journal seems to have l regularly, though the fact that many numbers are missing in the existing files per makes it hard to judge. A peculiar mistake made in 1729, which was never afterwards, also shows that too much reliance cannot be placed on the index of the papers themselves. The issue of the Journal for Jan. 21st-25th, 1729, is d 380. The issue for Feb. 15th-18th of the same year is numbered 338.

the numbers of the Journal that have survived are too s
and erratic to make it possible to construct a coherent s
But just as the pamphlets for 1727 indicate a change of ad
from Pembroke Court to Christ-Church Yard, so some of t
—probably those published towards the fall of the year-
indicate that Faulkner now joined forces with a James H
in partnership with whom he carried on business for
years. In 1729 the partners transferred business from Cl
Church Yard to "The Pamphletshop, Skinner Row opp
the Tholsel." From here the *Dublin Journal* continue
bi-weekly appearance. About March 1730 another ch
was made. Publishing still continued in the joint nam
Faulkner and Hoey, but instead of the address "The
phlet Shop in Skinner Row" we find the pamphlets
subscribed: "Dublin, Printed by George Faulkner and J
Hoey at the Pamphlet-Shops in Essex Street opposite
Bridge and in Skinner Row opposite the Tholsel." Obv
business was extending.

In the accounts that I have read on the subject,
usually maintained that a split between the partners wa
reason why George Faulkner deserted Skinner Row
opened another separate house of his own in Essex S
But the available evidence seems to discountenance this
A quarrel there was between Faulkner and Hoey; b
seems to have come later—subsequent, not antecedent, t
opening of the new shop in Essex Street. As a matter o
some months after the first numbers of the *Dublin Jo*
had been issued from Essex Street, so far from any termin
of relations with James Hoey, the Journal appeared u
the directorship of "Faulkner and Hoey,"[2] which eve
the hey-days of the partnership in Skinner Row had not
the way. This may perhaps have been an endeavou
George Faulkner's part to conciliate Hoey for the openi
the new shop. If it was, all that can be said is that it fa

[1] On which the following lines appear: "Printed and sold by George Faulkn
James Hoey, in Christ-Church Yard." The fact of the partnership is also attested
Hibernian Magazine; but, like the starting of the *Dublin Journal*, the date of its be
is variously given in different places.

[2] The two names appear at the head of the *Dublin Journal* from the numbe
21st-24th, 1730, to the number for May 5th-9th of that year.

y a few months after the Journal had appeared under nt proprietorship of Faulkner and Hoey, Hoey's name to appear any more and there are indications that a out had occurred. In the first place, for several weeks he deletion of Hoey's name from the title-page of the the body of the paper contained the following adver- nt announcing Faulkner's change to Essex Street, gh the actual change had taken place about three s earlier. "George Faulkner, Printer, is removed Skinner Row, next door to the Merchants Coffee House ex Street opposite the Bridge, and continues to do all r of Printing Work at reasonable Rates, and sells all of New Pamphlets, Poems and Plays as they are pub- in London and Dublin." More interesting still, two rs at least[1] of a paper, the format of which is exactly to Faulkner's *Dublin Journal* are still preserved. se places in them where one would ordinarily have the name and address of George Faulkner and his shop, me and address of James Hoey and his shop are inserted. earlier of the two numbers, moreover, Faulkner's ncement of his change of premises is countered by the ng lines: "James Hoey continues at the Pamphlet- n Skinner Row, where all manner of Printing Work reasonably, and the New Pamphlets, Poems and Plays ed in London and Dublin are sold; with all Sorts of nery Ware." To make the plagiarism complete, the number of both issues tallies exactly with the corres- g index numbers for issues of the same dates in George ier's series. At the front of the papers also, where ier was accustomed to write that his shop in Essex was the *only* place where advertisements for the *Dublin l* were taken in, James Hoey in these two counterfeit ls has precisely the same announcement of his shop nner Row.

r was this the whole extent of the opposition against George Faulkner, at the opening of his business in

[1] are dated May 19th-23rd and Nov. 14th-17th, 1730. How many more numbers ed it is not now possible to decide.

Essex Street, had to contend. Rumours were, he says, dustriously and maliciously" circulated that he intend give up the publication of the *Dublin Journal* altog These he vigorously denied and assured his readers th had "not the least thoughts of dropping the said pap but hoped "to give entire satisfaction to all (his) kind tomers, by constantly delivering to them a faithful impartial collection of Foreign and Domestic News."[1] kept his word. For fifty years, till the time of his deat paper had the widest circulation of any in Ireland. A firmly was its reputation established when he died despite successive changes of policy and management, i vived for close upon another half century under his succe

Besides the proprietorship of the *Dublin Journa* with difficulty vindicated for his house in Essex Street, C Faulkner also deflected there from Skinner Row the c of Dean Swift. From what has been already said further it is clear how from the first Swift found Faulkner's "h and respectful" address disarming. The author of the M in the *Hibernian Magazine*, resting his information authority of James Potts who had served as an appr under Faulkner, tells us on the other hand that Hoey but a poor impression on the Dean. It is not then sur to find that, when the two partners separated, Swift by Faulkner, who as well as being a good tradesma enterprising, unassuming and friendly.

To point with precision to the time when Swift and F ner became acquainted is not easy. In his foreword t reader in the 1762 edition of Swift's Works, Faulkner i that his acquaintance with Dean Swift dated from his to London in 1726. Mr. Elrington Ball, in his *Correspo of Dean Swift*, recognizes in George Faulkner the "Books entrusted by Lord Bolingbroke with a letter for Swift September of the same year.[2] Nor is there any diff in accepting this position;[3] for since in 1725 Faulkne

[1] *Dublin Journal*, June 30th—July 4th, 1730.

[2] Op. cit. Vol. 3, p. 343.

[3] In the Memoir in the *Hib. Mag.* it is stated that acquaintance with Swift upon the opening of business in Essex Street. But this account is far from acc detail; and indeed before the end of it we are told of an incident which took place Swift and Faulkner while the latter was still in Skinner Row.

an edition of the *Drapier Letters*, this action should rought him to the notice of the Dean. It may very so have been the foundation of that reputation for and loyalty which he claimed to have had in the eyes n Swift and which so "endeared" him "to the Dean e gave him the title of his right trusty and faithful d."[1]

he custom of Dean Swift in Dublin and the friendship iam Bowyer in London George Faulkner owed much arly success. Both men had a large following of friends ll-wishers to whom Faulkner was generously introduced rtunity offered. His own good temper, generosity and g disposition could be counted upon to keep friends ey were made. In appearance Faulkner was a smallish ut heavily built. He was fond of display. The story of his having upon one occasion called upon Dean Swift . in all his finery in "a gold-lace waistecoat." Swift l not to recognize him, and when he said that he was Faulkner his printer, the Dean dismissed him as an or with the remark: "My printer is a plain honest ld you, Sir, are a fop." When later Faulkner returned Deanery in ordinary attire, Swift welcomed him and n of the treacherous impersonation which some black- had endeavoured to effect.

or about the time of the opening of the shop in Essex George Faulkner is said to have got married to an lady by the name of Compton, whose acquaintance e during one of his expeditions to London. There were dren by the marriage; but Faulkner and his wife many happy years together before death intervened rate them. Though Mrs. Faulkner's name does not rominently into the story of her husband's life, he was attached to her. Her portrait had the place of honour lining room and, together with a bust and portrait of an Swift, was one of his most treasured possessions. d in 1755, and her obituary notice in the *Dublin Journal* short, rings clear and true with a sincerity still moving

[1] 1762 edition of Swift's Works, Vol. I., p. xiv.

in its simplicity: "If there be any mistakes or omissi this day's Journal, it is hoped the Public will excuse th account of the death of Mrs. Faulkner, the wife of the P hereof, who died yesterday morning after a most painfu lingering Illness which she bore with most Christian Pa and Resignation. By her death her acquaintance hav a most agreeable and sincere friend and the poor, esp reduced housekeepers, a most liberal and charitable factoress." [1]

Not long after his marriage, Faulkner met with an tunate accident which led in the end to the amputat one of his legs. He was himself largely to blame by l let a wound in his foot become gangrenous in the cour journey to London. When he consulted the doctors th was too late and nothing could be done. This loss of provided material for many a joke at his expense in the that followed. He had literally "one leg in the grave, in as much as he sought to repair his loss by the use of a clumsy wooden leg, the only substitute which he could he was often twitted about the allowances that had made for his "wooden understanding." Soon afte catastrophe to his leg—perhaps even before it, to jud an announcement in the *Dublin Journal* in September 1 he was in trouble with the Houses of Parliament for which he published. Queries from one of Swift's pamp which appeared in the *Dublin Journal* before the pa itself had come from the press, were censured by the of Lords as reflecting upon the honour of the Lords Sp who sat there. Faulkner was immediately ordered custody, but was afterwards liberated upon the paym fees, which he says were made good to him by Sir J Lambert "then Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod a as some other officers." Later in 1735 he got agai serious trouble. A pamphlet published by him fro

[1] *The Dublin Journal*, Jan. 7th-11th, 1755. In the *Hib. Mag.* Mrs. Faulkne is mistakenly said to have occurred in 1757.

[2] Dublin Journal, Sept. 1st-5th, 1730, where Faulkner denies the report that longed stay in England was caused by fear that action would be taken agains Parliament if he came home.

[3] "Considerations upon Two Bills sent down from the House of Lords to the able House of Commons relating to the Clergy of Ireland."

Dr. Hort, Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, entitled *posal for the Better Regulation of the Game of Quadrille*," demned by the Members of the House of Commons ttack upon one of their number. The printer was into custody once more, and though (as he says) at the time was lodged in Newgate prison in the first March 1735. He at once petitioned to be released granted his freedom four days later on the condition ng his fees.[1] This episode, which at first threatened him dear, served him well in the sequel. It brought ift's esteem for him most clearly; for in May 1736, n wrote to Dr. Hort reproaching him for the shameless had permitted Faulkner to suffer in his cause without a finger either to assist or reimburse him. On the and, the only fees which the lawyers asked of the upon his release were a set of the first edition of wift's Works which he had recently published.

thus bravely supporting his clients, Faulkner made riends by his misadventures than he made enemies t he published. It was an uneasy, but in the event, ul way of winning fame. Certainly from the year rwards, the relations between himself and Dean Swift increasingly friendly and intimate. When he went neys from place to place, he often carried letters of ction from Dean Swift; and in his turn, when corres- with Swift's friends, he rarely failed to make mention to them. In another way also, Swift's esteem for er was well illustrated at this time. Benjamin Motte, who had brought out some early volumes of Swift's in England, wrote asking that Faulkner be restrained nding copies of his new edition into England. Swift ack a spirited defence of his friend[2]: "Mr. Faulkner ealt so fairly with me that I have a great opinion of esty, although I never dealt with him as a Printer or

Memoir in the *Hib. Mag.* speaks of Faulkner's having been several weeks in his time. Faulkner himself, in the Introduction to the 1762 edition of Swift's s the length of his imprisonment at three days. From notes in the Journal h House of Commons he appears to have been ordered into custody on March ave petitioned from Newgate for release on March 5th; and to have been dis- n March 9th.

spondence: Vol. V., p. 326.

Bookseller; but since my friends told me that those thi
called mine would certainly be published by some he
Bookseller, I was forced to be passive in the matter . . . .
my part, though I have no power anywhere, I will do the b
offices I can to countenance Mr. Faulkner; although I
not pleased to have that collection printed here, yet n
of my friends advised me to be angry with him . . . ." Sev
letters to his friends about the same time show that D
Swift was true to this resolution, and Faulkner advan
steadily, consolidating his position at every turn.

The hanging of a painting of Dean Swift in the "Dea
House" in 1739 gave Faulkner the last opportunity he
during Swift's lifetime, of singing the praises of his pat
Swift was now far advanced in the decline of life, and i
following years his malady became intensified, so that hi
days were shrouded in gloom. "He was," writes Mrs. De
"reduced to such a miserable state of idiotism that he w
shocking object, though in his person a very venerable fig
On October 19th, 1745, came at length the announceme
his death. In an eloquent tribute to his memory Fau
made open confession of the favours he had received a
hands—in the *Dublin Journal* for October 19th-22nd,
he wrote :—

Last Saturday, October 19th, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon,
that great and eminent Patriot the Rev. Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Pat
Dublin, in the 78th year of his age, who was born in the Parish
Werburg, Dublin, the 30th of November 1667, at the House o
Uncle Councillor Godwen Swift in Hoey's Court, which in these
was the general place of Residence of the Chief Lawyers. His ge
Works, learning and Charity are so universally admired that, to att
delineating his character, would be the highest presumption;
as the Printer hereof is proud to acknowledge his infinite obliga
to that prodigy of wit, he can only lament that he is unequal to sc
a design. The Dean has bequeated the bulk of his fortune—
is about £12,000—to build and endow a Hospital for lunatics,
and incurables, which said Hospital is to be called St. Patrick's
is to be erected near Steven's.

CHARLES O'CON

[1] *Dublin Journal*, Mar. 27th-31st, 1739.

A NEW HISTORY*

Spain and England 1553-1583

BY DOUGLAS HYDE, LL.D., LITT.D.

TIFYING unjust censures in the light of newly found docu-
' and "*not permitting the memory of the dead to be clouded*"
o principles emphasised some ten years ago by the Spanish Duke
wick and Alba, as being the duty of all who like himself inherit
names or titles won for illustrious services to their country.[1]
principles, thus enunciated by the Director of the Academy
tory of Spain in relation to biography, are reaffirmed in the
e to E. M. Tenison's *Elizabethan England*—a remarkable History
ch no statement rests on the author's own authority, but the
re raised from their graves to answer their critics.

e outstanding qualities of this work are the combination of
on with picturesqueness and of clear renderings of the larger
with a wealth of detail, never I feel sure before found so skil-
blended in any modern rendering of sixteenth century history.
emphasised in the general introduction that the work enables
see the dead as they were in life and delivers the past from the
of "modernism." There is no preconceived theory; the aim is
cavate the truth and present it, not from any one standpoint
om the sayings and writings of all the chief personages prin-
y concerned.

he diversity of characters and types shown in this work makes
l that we have stepped into the midst of a vast human drama,
a Shakespearian variety of persons and circumstances. The story
heroes on both sides is rendered with equal care; this exactitude
g from a vivid power of sympathy which is able to enter into the
ons of a Spaniard, an Englishman, a Portuguese, a Frenchman,
Irishman, as if we were living the life of each in alternation.
rivalry of Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots is rendered from
sides with such equal justice that we almost sympathise with both.
o summarise adequately the first four volumes now in the hands
e subscribers is impossible. When read, their revelations unfold

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* *Elizabethan England: Being the History of this Country 'In Relation to all Foreign ...s.' From original Manuscripts, many hitherto unpublished; co-ordinated with ... century printed matter ranging from Royal Proclamations to Broadside Ballads. A ... y of Life and Literature. By E. M. Tenison, Member of the Society for Nautical ... rch. In X volumes quarto: with many hundred portraits and other illustrations in ... ipe, also title pages and portraits in line: and with PORTFOLIO of unique Maps, ... s, Documents, etcetera, relevant to the text, and now first published. Issued for the ... or to Subscribers only At the Sign of the Dove with the Griffin. Royal Leamington Spa ... e County of Warwick MDCCCCXXXIII." (IV).*

[1] "Los herederos de apellidos ilustres o de titulos nobilarios, premio de eminentes ...ios a la patria, tienen contraida con sus antepasados la deuda de realzar sus meritos ... la nuevos documentos lo permitan, rectificar censuras o accusasiones injustificados, ... fin, no dejar que vaya obscureciendose su memoria . . . ." "*El Mariscal de Ber- . . . . por El Duque de Berwick y de Alba.*" Madrid, 1925. Prologo. p. 5.

themselves in perfect sequence. But as there are—so I understa only three copies in the whole of Ireland, of one of which I happe be the lucky possessor, I will make some attempt to convey the ma of this extraordinary work.

The illustrations are not incidental but structural; and th some, like Titian's exquisite Empress Isabel in the Prado Gallery Moro's grim Queen Mary and the Hatfield Elizabeth with the rain may be fairly familiar, others are reproduced for the first time. Dublin Queen Elizabeth, here well-known, is new in England; many pictures which may be no rarity in Spain are a novelty fo The drawing of the Escorial in process of being built is as new to S as to the British Isles. It was only one of many discoveries by Ten Its date, *circa* 1576, was supplied by the Director of the Academ History of Spain.

For Irish readers it is the graphic rendering of sixteenth cen Spain which will be found the most enthralling reading. For Portuguese reader, the tragedy of the Crusading King Sebastian the adventures of the elected King Antonio are no doubt the cen events. These are rendered as never in English before. The deal of England with foreign powers are revealed through a stupen collection of documents in many tongues. But instead of being whelming in its multiplicity of facts, the narrative is extraordi clear. The student can, if he wishes, pore over the notes from Spa Portuguese, Italian, French, Latin, and sometimes Dutch MSS.; the general reader can go at a gallop through the large-print sections. The historian will find many hitherto unpublished m scripts printed in extenso in appendices; and we are promised m more in the ensuing six volumes. As to Ireland, unpublished temporary maps and plans are scheduled for Volume IX, covering years 1599-1601.

In Volume I, a prologue compressing the reign of Philip and M into seventeen sections has forty collotype plates. These serve remind us that the Spanish King, who for forty out of forty-four y of Elizabeth's reign aspired to be world-dictator, had as King Con of England learnt to know and understand the English. Elizab is shown as seen through English Catholic and English Protest eyes, and also from the standpoint of Spain. She is shown both she was in private to her Councillors and as she appeared to the ma in the streets. Popular ballads and fragments of old stage pl alternate with official despatches and pronouncements. Whatsoe the sympathies and inclinations of the reader may be, I feel sure will find some new thing here to interest him. But it will rarely the thing that he expects. Notions derived from Froude and Cor are shown to be in many instances based on inadequate examinat

uscripts. Not the least remarkable feature are the MS. facsimiles, beautiful collotype that we might almost be looking upon the s. In analytical appendices standard fallacies are corrected in but this scholastic and controversial element never unduly s from the larger issues.

links between past and present are emphasised ; and wherever e, a choice has been made from pictures in possession of des- ts of those concerned. Of these among the most outstanding, ally and historically, are three portraits of the Great Duke of "exceeding all Spaniards of his time"—in possession of the Duke in the Palacio de Liria. The one in old age (Vol. IV,) has never before been issued in England.

find Queen Elizabeth's enemies and her champions rendered qual precision in one and the same History is, I really think, edented ; and the "*Gran Duque*" will be a revelation to us all, has hitherto been familiar chiefly as rendered by Motley. His ches on the conquest of Portugal have never before appeared lish. "It pleased Our Lord to give the victory to your Majesty. n I give my thanks and to your Majesty my congratulations," is an le of the lofty impersonality with which he announced the defeat Antonio and the triumph of Spain under his own generalship.

w also in English are quotations and translations from the works present Duke of Alba ; whose first book was published as far as 1907, consisting of an ambassador's correspondence which lern English authority had stated not to exist.

izabethan England is scarcely less important for Spain than for nd. The nineteenth and twentieth century English fallacy that nquisition "shut out the light of the Renaissance" is disposed e and for all. How the Inquisition punished heretics, whether were Christian, Moor, or Jew, its own records show, and no con- sy is necessary. But that the Inquisition quenched the Arts wn to be a delusion.

is book is really the result of a lifetime's labour. *Elizabethan nd . . . .*"*In relation to all Foreign Princes*" will upset many an ted convention. As the evidence is drawn direct from the es and as the narrative covers a wider area than any one English ian has attempted for that especial time, it is bound to become rsenal from which all lesser works will hereafter draw material.

1930, when the Director of the Academy of History of Spain, Duke of Berwick and Alba (already quoted), was Minister for gn Affairs, he made in London a public speech as to his lifelong that England and Spain should learn to understand each other r. In this History—in which, by the way, he is thanked for the of documents and pictures—his wish is fulfilled ; for it would be

impossible for either nation to read it without an increased inte in the other. There can be no denying that the Spanish menac Elizabeth's day sharpened English wits, or that Lord Burgh depicted by other modern English historians as pacific and pro-Spani is revealed by Tenison as the most formidable diplomatic advers of Philip of Spain. The astute and far-seeing Philip of these f volumes is in striking contrast to the feeble shadow, the "procra nator," the "gloomy" bigot, to whom we are accustomed in Eng academic History.

The policy of the Popes in relation to England is given in t own words. Pope Pius's Declaration appears in facsimile (wit translation); and the pictures of the foreign Catholic generals admirals, and their influence upon world politics in general and England and Ireland in particular, are rendered with outstan vigour. We get the explanation of the Hispano-Italian exped to Ireland in 1580. It was not intended then to attempt conq the object was to keep Elizabeth's navy in home waters and her a occupied, to prevent her sending her promised reinforcements Portugal to impede the Spanish capture of Lisbon. The patri of the Portuguese, the cleverness of their conquerors, the trage Philip Strozzi at the Azores and the victories of the Marquis of S Cruz in 1582 and 1583 abound in matter entirely new to English rea

These volumes appeared last November under unique circumsta I know of no other instance of the writer of a ten volume Hi being also its publisher and regulating every detail of the produc The combination of arts and arms, of political, literary, theolog naval and military, and scholastic matter defies description. fact that the work is only issued to subscribers, is not sent to the p for review, is only procurable from the author, and is not advertise all this is not the result of exclusiveness, but because the subscrib contributions go into the actual production. The conception a execution are indisputably above anything of the kind hitherto offe in English as to a special era. But with a touch of gentle irony t author adds, on the fly-leaf of the introduction, the words of Eccle asticus: "He that is not wise will not be taught . . . . If a skilful m hear a wise word he will commend it . . . . But as soon as one of understanding heareth it, it displeaseth him, and he casteth it beh his back."

Within the next quarter of a century I hope that this work will known and read in all the civilised world wherever history is sought a cherished. Meanwhile the pioneer subscribers have the satisfacti of possessing a treasure-house of human, historical, and artistic achie ment as to English dealings "in relation to all foreign princes" and especially in relation to Spain. DOUGLAS HYDE

REVIEWS

Archaeology

PREHISTORY OF SCOTLAND. By V. Gordon Childe, rofessor of Prehistoric Archaeology in the University of Edinrgh. London: Kegan Paul. 1935. 15s. net.

this book is likely to prove for some time to come the standard on Scottish prehistory is certain, but one is rather surprised at ublisher's note which talks of "the hitherto neglected subject historic Scotland." Prehistory being a young science, it may, ared with other sciences, be claimed to be everywhere still ted, but Scottish prehistory has been fortunate in the men who been attracted to its study and in the publications they have us. Nor is Professor Childe niggardly in his statement of indebtedto men like Geikie, Monro, Abercromby, Bryce and Anderson; ; preface he insists on the services rendered by these men not to prehistory in Scotland but in its wider international aspects.

however the beginnings were more healthy than in many other ries and if the work which has since been published (in *The Prongs of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* and elsewhere) repre- a store of knowledge worthy of these beginnings, there has been ing since Anderson's books in the last century a synthesis of this nce and an attempt to bring it into its correct place in the general ework of prehistory. No one could be found more fitted than ssor Childe to undertake this task. His previous work has shown xtent of his knowledge of the prehistory of Europe and the Near ; the book under review shows how thoroughly he has become ainted with the prehistory of Scotland, and he again demonstrates ability to bring the scattered notices regarding individual phases discoveries into their correct places in a coherent whole.

As a work of reference Professor Childe's book must long remain pensable; for we cannot believe that much of value in the archogical literature is omitted in the author's many references. The k of earlier archaeologists is quoted as fully as space allows and vancy requires, and no attempt is made to disparage their work—ndency unfortunately frequent among archaeologists and, because he youth of the science, only too easy.

One is particularly struck by the logical way in which the author s his conclusions on the facts at his disposal; theories are the come of the archaeological data, and where more than one theory ossible, the alternatives are fully placed before the reader and ussed as to their relative probability.

In dealing with a book so comprehensive in its scope and so detailed ts method, it would not be profitable in a review of this nature to l with individual points in it. Beginning with a discussion of the

geographical features of the country and of its more recent geologic history it treats of human colonisation in "Atlantic" times, t practice of collective burial, the Neolithic culture, Bronze Age civ zation, invasions and connections, the introduction of iron and l in the Iron Age, and to some extent with the effects of Roman exp sion. The book concludes with an excellent résumé of the m current of events in Scotland as dealt with in its chapters, and a ser of maps give the distribution of neolithic remains, beakers and fo vessels, cinerary urns, Iron Age forts and refuges.

Irish readers will be struck by the parallels with Irish prehisto and by the numerous examples of Irish influence, particularly Bronze Age times. Another feature of general note is that Scott chronology frequently diverges from that of Southern Britain, w exemplifying Fox's distinction between Highland and Lowland zo as applied to these islands.

Professor Childe's book should serve not only to increase our kn ledge of prehistoric Scotland, but also to increase respect for the sci of prehistory among non-specialist readers. S. P. Ó R.

Biography

WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS. By J. H. Pollock. Dublin a London: Talbot Press. 1935. Pp. 112. 2s. 6d.

THOMAS DAVIS. By J. M. Hone. Dublin and London: Tal Press. 1935. Pp. 119. 2s. 6d.

THESE two little books are the second two of the publishers' series "Noted Irish Lives." In them the very high standard already set Alice Curtayne (*Patrick Sarsfield*) and Louis J. Walsh (*John Mitch* has been well maintained.

In *William Butler Yeats* we are presented with an extremely i teresting and thoughtful analysis of the literary work of that poe The *leit-motif* of Mr. Pollock's study is the progress of the poet from a objective phase, through a period of disillusionment and self-questio ing, to a subjective state of mature self-reflection. That the work Mr. Yeats reveals such a progress none will deny, though why M Pollock should view this progress as "a laborious journey fro objective illusion to subjective reality" is not evident. Opinions wi differ too as to whether this development of itself denotes a growth i literary excellence.

Mr. Pollock writes with evident enthusiasm as an admirer of h subject. But he is by no means an uncritical admirer. While i every way appreciative of the excellences of Mr. Yeats's work, he do not hesitate to put his finger on the weak points. In the poetry o Mr. Yeats he finds especially a lack of the note of universality and

ency in depth of human experience. He is not deceived by the coquetry with the charlatan Blavatsky, nor by his dabblings in abala and the esoteric generally, nor by the puerilities of the *Twilight*. But the "Red Rose," which Mr. Pollock calls a "partly nic mystical principle," is as hazy and unexplained as ever. To of it, as Mr. Pollock does, as "analogous at moments to that *arium mentis ad Deum*" is but to confuse the Absolute with the nite. Throughout this extremely well-written essay Mr. Pollock s a liberal but judicious use of quotation from the poems of Mr. s. Nor does he neglect the prose writings, which for the proper rstanding of his subject are as important as they are voluminous. nlike Mr. Pollock, who for valid reasons chose to omit the back- nd of his subject, Mr. Hone in his study of Davis is much concerned ortray the political milieu of Davis and to give the poet-patriot's ions with his contemporaries. This he has succeeded in doing rably and concisely. Indeed so well has it been done that one ates to give expression to the regret that Mr. Hone's pre-occupation the external affairs of Davis's life may, to some extent, have pre- ed him from doing full justice to Davis's very remarkable character personality. That Davis was an active politician in Ireland who e no enemies is perhaps the best measure of his greatness.

The publishers are to be congratulated on the enterprise shown in series of "Noted Irish Lives." But when we recall that the volumes ady published give the lives of Sarsfield, Mitchel, Davis and Yeats, e those in preparation will treat of Tone, Emmet, Grattan, Moore Connolly, may we not inquire whether the publishers are making assumption that Irish history began in 1691? F. S.

INT BEDE THE VENERABLE. By H. M. Gillett. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1935. 2s. 6d. net.

INT BEDE THE VENERABLE. Ecclesiastical History of the English People. Translated by Thomas Stapleton. Edited by Philip Hereford. Introduction by Bede Jarrett, O.P. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1935. 15s. net.

this biography of the Venerable Bede a short account is given of England in which he lived and the nature of his life and work. s a story full of lessons for the modern world. Bede spent all his rs in a monastic cell, and yet he was one of the happiest of men. never studied in a famous school, and yet his repute remains as of Europe's foremost scholars. He never travelled abroad, save mature age and then but a few miles to the north or south of his nastery, and yet his name is writ large in the annals of his country. s mastery of Latin was not surpassed during the Middle Ages. He quired a fair knowledge, at least, of Greek almost certainly without

a tutor and probably without a sufficiency of books, grammatical otherwise. His abiding reputation is due to his industry as a wri and to the personal qualities of piety, integrity, sound judgme which win respect in every generation. His standing in our own c is particularly high, to some extent owing to two accidents : his happ ing to have written the *Ecclesiastical History* and the modern ta for history in all its forms. This work in five books was regarded Bede as of very moderate consequence compared with his works Scripture or theology in more than fifty books ; yet it is owing to former alone that he is now held in such grateful remembrance.

As Mr. Gillett's volume is professedly popular, it would be unki to examine it in too critical a spirit. It is necessary, however, to st that his treatment of the " Celtic Church " and of the Irish evangeli in England is unsatisfactory. Mr. Gillett seems to forget that Br was ever a Roman province ; that its church life to the middle of fifth century and beyond was intimately connected with Gaul Rome ; that Gildas, writing in the middle of the sixth century, is in his own eyes a Roman of the Romans to whom Angles, Saxons a Jutes are savage as well as pagan ; that the Irish church never sh the contempt of the British church for these barbarians, but gav its substance with success in their evangelization ; that to spea " a total lack of order and discipline " and a total ignorance of territ sees in the Celtic church is nonsense ; that the so-called " Ro party " in the English church of the seventh century recognized limit in its imitation of Roman manners and ways and that opposi to this was possible without irreverence to the Holy See or reject of the dogma of papal supremacy. On this subject no more shall said.

In the Foreword " the difference between Anglo-Saxon sancti and Celtic spirituality " is mentioned. Bede is given as an examp of the former, whilst the position is crowned with the suave misstat ment : " It is the monastic life of all times because it is the Benedictin tradition." Now the Anglo-Saxons were not only saintly but spiritua and the Celts were not only spiritual but saintly. St. Bede is no mo Anglo-Saxon than St. Cuthbert, who far outdistanced him in Angl Saxon favour, yet St. Cuthbert's life might easily be mistaken fo " the hagiography of a Celtic saint." Jarrow, again, was not a Bene dictine monastery, and Bede was not a Benedictine monk, and a con siderable part of the monastic life of the Church was lived and is live outside the Benedictine tradition.

Thanks are due to Mr. Hereford and his enterprising publisher for this new and compendious edition of Stapleton's translation o Bede's *Ecclesiastical History.* Stapleton's Elizabethan prose i admittedly virile and rhythmical, and the faulty renderings into whic

asionally fell are corrected by the editor. The value of the is enhanced by a short, scholarly and delightful memoir of le from the pen of the deeply regretted Father Bede Jarrett, O.P.

J. R.

T JOHN BOSCO. By F. A. Forbes. London: Burns Oates d Washbourne. 1935. 2s. 6d. net.

ɔod sort." This was the judgment delivered on Don Bosco by hady young roughs in Turin. They were quite right—how right ɔpular Life of St. John Bosco goes to prove.

a boy Don Bosco is the organiser of the "Merry Company," understood that to be merry meant to take things as they came ake the best of them." Later, the hunter of souls in highways yways, hearing a long-delayed confession in the shadow of a r on the box of a coach, holding the reins "while the horses l on complacently"; scolded in turn by a pious Marchioness— prefer your ragamuffins to my orphans . . . . !" and by a worthy 's irate housekeeper for bringing these same ragamuffins within ose range of her frilled cap; always in need of funds to feed his yet building churches and founding institutions; pestered by erical officials and inspectors, but winning the game in the end; ng amazing miracles, which often savoured of racy humour and y wit; but most appealing of all when, in the crowded Cathedral ɔtre Dame, a critical Parisian congregation heard the "shabby iest" plead for help in his poor French, and when "that people, know what eloquence means, wept. Heart and soul spoke gh the halting medium, and it was the heart and soul of a saint"— aint of trust in God's unfailing Providence.

ne book is well illustrated and attractive. The style is the vigorous ucid English of the author of *Leaders of a Forlorn Hope*, the dard-Bearers series of Lives of the Saints, of *Pius X*, *Rafael inal Merry del Val*, and other works.

here are many Lives of Don Bosco, learned and detailed. But, u want a lifelike portrait of the man and the saint and a good —then read this by F. A. Forbes.

L. S.

Economics

E PROBLEM OF CREDIT POLICY. By E. F. M. Durbin. London: Chapman and Hall. 1935. 10s. 6d.

years ago Mr. Durbin acquired considerable publicity by the tal attack which he delivered on Major Douglas's credit scheme other similar monetary short cuts to prosperity. In his new book levelops a constructive theory of monetary management, and

endeavours to outline a credit policy "to secure and maintain ind nitely full employment and a maximum of productivity." Durbin is at pains to emphasize the points of agreement am economists rather than their points of disagreement; but he adn that the wisdom requisite to implement even an agreed credit po may still be lacking in the banking world, and indeed may not possible within the framework of capitalist institutions. The tinction between what could be achieved in society as it actu exists and what could be achieved in a socialist State plays a v important part in Mr. Durbin's whole argument and must be c stantly borne in mind by the reader. Mr. Durbin assumes that statistical indications necessary for the formulation of a rational po are available, that the prices of the factors of production are relat rigid, and that the granting of credits to consumers must be reg as no less normal than their extension to producers. Given t assumptions, what should be the aims of credit policy in a ban system?

Mr. Durbin considers three possible courses which a central b could pursue. In the first place it could maintain the circulation constant flow of money. This policy would be deflationary in pe of progress and is therefore rejected. In the second place it aim at stabilizing the price level of final output. This course Durbin considers the best ideally, but he thinks that it could n successfully pursued within the existing banking and financial m anism, because, in his opinion, the only way to stabilize that price is by the issue of free consumers' credits. In a socialized commu such credits could be easily issued, and they could be issued even capitalistic society by a systematic unbalancing of the budget course, however, for which public opinion is not yet ripe and one wh would therefore produce a crisis of confidence. This leads Mr. Dur to consider the third course, namely, the maintenance of stable mo incomes, which is "the only practicable policy if the only usa instrument of policy is an expansion or contraction in the volume producers' credit and at the same time wages and other primary fac prices are slow to move relatively to other prices." These being characteristics of most modern communities, it is to this policy stabilizing money incomes "that we must look for the hope of sta prosperity if no general change in the institutions of society is in sigh

When he proceeds to discuss the technique by which this pol could be pursued, Mr. Durbin is frankly sceptical regarding the effic of the weapons in the armoury of the banks, and he is led once more opine that a successful policy of credit control is impossible except a society planned in other respects as well. This is the conclus reached by many individualist economists, who base upon it th

n to attempting monetary planning on any extended scale. le the individualist can derive from this apparent incompati- tween monetary planning and capitalism an argument against y planning, the socialist sees in it an argument against capitalism. fectly obvious in which direction Mr. Durbin leans, but he is epared to allow that many people lean in the opposite direction. her conclusion, that a planned monetary economy is inconsistent rigid foreign exchange rate, will also command general agree- But here again a warning is necessary against drawing too hasty ons. The incompatibility may be an argument against a rigid e, but it may equally be an argument against attempts at y planning. Which course should be sacrificed in favour of er depends upon innumerable local and temporal conditions h no two countries are precisely similar. Having drawn n to the existence of these differences the economist, as such, ound to express an opinion in any particular case as to which possesses the balance of advantage. G. O'B.

ARMER AND HIS DEBT. By Anwar I. Qureshi. London : lian Rural Reconstruction League. 1934. 2s. 6d.

b-title of Dr. Qureshi's essay precisely describes its contents : dy of farm relief in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, ggestions for India." Dr. Qureshi has travelled widely in of first-hand information regarding rural credit and agricul- arketing organisation, and has collected a vast amount of tion not readily available elsewhere. Everywhere the problem same : farmers find themselves " over-indebted " because of in the price of primary products. Formerly the great problem ultural credit was to secure that farmers could borrow enough ; is to save them from the consequences of having borrowed too Since the preparation of this essay Dr. Qureshi has visited the States and Canada and is at present in Dublin studying the n as it presents itself in the Free State. It is to be hoped that place students of this subject still further in his debt by publish- results of his later investigations with the same orderliness and that are displayed in this account of his earlier inquiries.

G. O'B.

Education

MANISME ET L'HUMAIN. Psychologie Individuelle et ciale. Par F. Charmot, S.J. Paris : Éditions Spes. 1934. fr.

mented death of Professor Irving Babbitt of Harvard seems to caused the word " Humanism " to lose some of the interest it

had begun to excite in English-speaking countries because of his work. In France the corresponding term is still much discussed, and the discussion there is less one-sided because the word has not become in French the ambiguous plaything of mutually hostile philosophers. To Frenchmen it still keeps its old meaning, associated primarily with classical culture; and it is in that meaning that the author of the earnest and valuable, if rather wordy, volume under review discusses its importance to modern French education.

Father Charmot's book is divided into three parts. The first deals with "the spirit of humanist education," and seeks to give the word a wider and sounder definition than its narrowly classicist one, while clinging resolutely to its classical essentials. The second deals with "humanist methods and cultural techniques," and seeks, by way of practical analysis, to show how humanism in the school can embrace all the elements of a sound Christian and yet thoroughly modern education. It concludes with a well-timed plea for an Institute of Pedagogy, which would unify the three orders of education and work through study and discussion to make humanism a popular force. The third part consists of an elaborate "documentation," in which are collected the views of eminent French Catholic educators, given in course of an inquiry conducted in 1932-33 by the periodical "*L'Enseignement Chrétien*." The names of André Thérive, Maurice Blondel, Ernest Dimnet, Georges Goyau, Albert Condamin—to mention only a few—are enough to show the very great interest of this inquiry. In spite of what Fr. Charmot says of "l'impossibilité de prolonger une publication déjà immense," it may be regretted that he has not included also the contributions of eminent men like Paul Claudel and Lagrange, who took opposite sides in their view of classical education and its relations with Christianity.

In this third part of the book will be found a wide variety of opinions both on the principles and on the methods of classical teaching. Some of the contributions are from anonymous groups of practical teachers, others from scientists, others again from publicists and professional men. It will be seen from their remarks that the questions raised by this perennial problem are not very different in France from what they are elsewhere. Fr. Charmot's own views are a valuable and personal synthesis of the whole debate. He advocates a revival of the Humanist ideal, extended as to its participants, clarified and purified in its spirit, and revivified in its methods. Humanism, he maintains, should always envisage not only *Homo Sapiens* but also *Homo Spiritualis* and *Homo Faber*. He rejects the arid and exclusive "rationalism" of the French post-Renaissance period, which is still alive among many "Humanists" of today and which, as he shows, is not merely anti-Christian, but false to the best in Hellenism as well. He

very soundly, following writers like Maritain, insists that in any case Christianity is not "inféodé à aucune culture." If Humanism is to be Christian, it must cease to be exclusive, whether racially or socially. It must above all become *popular*, transcending the aristocratic bias which it has inherited from its Graeco-Roman origins.

In this connection he has some wise and timely words on the hatred or contempt for labour that is so dangerously widespread nowadays. Here he is at one with the Bergsonian school, but he shows that only Christianity can so transform labour as to render it worthy of praise. Next he discusses the elements in Humanism, as so far understood, that have made it hostile to Christianity, and the objections to it which are almost a tradition in Christian thought. Two aspects of this very far-reaching antinomy are touched on. One is the fact that the Renaissance passion for artistic perfection and search for pure form has come to be smothered in the schools by mere grammatical erudition. "Sans doute on évite ainsi l' assimilation du poison païen. Mais on n'assimile plus rien." Another is the greater danger presented nowadays by the modern literatures which are the only civilised substitutes for Greek and Latin.

Probably the most interesting part of Fr. Charmot's book is the chapters in which he gives practical advice on the teaching of classics. Here his emphasis is very wisely placed on the "*formation des maîtres.*" If teachers are not themselves penetrated with the kind of Christian Humanism he advocates, their teaching can only be barren. There is evidently great need, in other countries as well as in France, for a reconsideration of the whole purpose and method of cultural training and for a deeper and more spiritual conception of the teaching vocation. Fr. Charmot's work suffers perhaps from the lack of a more business-like style and of a more methodical arrangement. Nevertheless it is a contribution of great interest to a subject of extreme importance.

M. T.

AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE. By Gordon East, Lecturer in Historical Geography, London School of Economics and Political Science. London: Methuen. 1935. Pp. xx., 480, with 58 maps. 15s. net.

This elaborate work falls into three almost equal sections, which deal with early processes of settlement, with State-making, and with modern economics. Even though Mr. East's plan evinces the quality of the skilled teacher, the hitherto undeveloped and unsettled nature of his subject explains his effort, a most interesting effort indeed, to plant his subject on the academic territories already staked out by other pioneers. It cannot be expected to be successful in effecting a lodgement of a definitive character; and its author rightly feels that the

political historian, who has so long ruled curricula alone, will stil lead the forces hostile to this new attempt to lodge a new colonia enterprise directed from geography into the lands of the empire o History. Nor will the ethnologist and the economist be backward in giving their aid to History.

Hence these well-packed pages will always serve other studies rather than establish a scholastic polity of their own. For the define areas of time and space they will be found to be a compact and stimu lating summary, though necessarily selective, not comprehensive Thus even within the period since the full expansion of Rome and ove the lands affected by Rome—over which Mr. East's work extends— any student or teacher will need further aid on any specific topic Instances of this need are the Celtic peoples and the territory o Alsace, to name a pair of cognate problems affecting a well-define area still very much in historical, cultural and linguistic action. The same observation extends to Mr. East's maps. Their independent character and their considerable number only serve to show how much they need to be supplemented on many sides. This well-arrange sequence of sections and of chapters will do their best work when they impel the reader to pursue, with the aid of the substantial and really modern bibliography, the several problems into which this pioneer work will tempt him to launch his exploratory barque.

It has the additional merit that it gives considerable attention to the work of early Christian missionary forces, as well as to mediaeva ordering effected by the same ever active forces. Hence the teache of the social and cultural sides of European history will find many uses for Mr. East's book, and will find it of very definite service in the mapping of the real history of Europe for class-teaching. The sketch maps themselves, indeed, afford an excellent view of the range of work that can be variously shown by means of "black-and-white."

T. C.

History

CHARLES I AND THE COURT OF ROME. A Study of Seventeenth Century Diplomacy. By Gordon Albion, D.Sc. Hist London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1935. 15s.

A DETAILED study of the diplomatic relations between Charles I and the Court of Rome has long been overdue. Gardiner, of course touched upon these diplomatic exchanges here and there in his "History"; but the extent of the period covered by the Stuart historian precluded such detailed treatment of this particular subject as its importance and the wealth of documents available to illustrate it demanded. In this respect the excellent specialized study of Father Albion is a distinct advance on the work of Gardiner. It is based, too

n a wider documentation, the author having had access to original apers, preserved for the most part in the Propaganda and Vatican rchives, which were unknown to or, at least, not consulted by the arlier historian. Even where the author breaks less original ground—n the portion of the book which deals with the Spanish Match—he ontrols the account of Gardiner by the later and more authoritative vork of Arezio. The core of the book, however, as any such study nust be, is based on the diplomatic correspondence between Cardinal Barberini and the three successive papal agents in England—Panzani, Con and Rosetti. And if, as Gardiner rightly pointed out in the pre-face to his ninth volume, the letters of Rossetti are of particular worth for a right understanding of Charles I, those of Con are even of greater value. The present work, then, is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the hard-fated Stuart King and has a special interest in these days when there is so much talk of " reunion."

After a short but excellent general introduction, Father Albion begins his study with an account of the negotiations for the Spanish Match. Though these negotiations eventually proved abortive, they are of importance for Charles's subsequent relations with Rome. The Holy See was naturally drawn into them, as a dispensation was required for the marriage of the Catholic Infanta to a Protestant prince. The conditions, too, agreed upon for safeguarding to his intended bride the exercise of her religion in England, later supplied a model for those laid down for the marriage of Charles to Henrietta Maria of France. The Spanish Marriage Treaty, moreover, afforded Charles an occasion for viewing Catholicism at close quarters in Spain ; it raised hopes of and provided an opportunity for an attempt at his conversion ; whilst at the same time it gave him " his first experience of what he always criticized in the Catholic Powers—their using the Pope for their own ends."

A chapter follows treating of the negotiations which resulted in the marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria. Here again Charles had to deal with a Catholic Power and indirectly with the Holy See. The reactions of the latter, Father Albion has related from unpublished sources, whilst he has also amplified Gardiner's account from the later work of Goll. Charles's subsequent breach of the conditions laid down in the marriage treaty led to strained relations between England on the one side and France and Rome on the other ; and for a time the Holy See entertained the idea of pronouncing sentence against the English King and of uniting France and Spain to punish him. In the end wiser counsels prevailed, and Pope Urban contented himself with encouraging France and applauding the French success at La Rochelle. With the conclusion of peace in 1629, the diplomatic situation was considerably eased. This was further improved by the

growing influence of Henrietta Maria, who with the passing of Charles' favourite Buckingham stood alone in the affection of her lonely consort—an affection cemented in 1630 by the birth of the Prince of Wales. Thanks largely to her influence the lot of English Catholics was ameliorated, and the Holy See and England were brought into closer relations by the establishment of Sir William Hamilton as her agent in Rome and by the sending of the papal agent, Panzani, to report on the divisions existing among the Catholics of England.

The mission of Panzani and the agency of Hamilton in Rome prepared the way for the more important step of sending Con, in 1636, to explore the possibility of Charles's conversion and the whole question of restoring England to the Faith. Con remained in England for three years and was succeeded by Rossetti, who was able to continue the papal agency for another two years, until forced in 1641 to leave the country owing to the rising hostility of the Puritans. These five years of what was practically direct papal correspondence with Charles, though for fear of the Puritans and others the papal agents were accredited only to the court of the Queen, are treated with great thoroughness and form the substance of the work. The author, moreover, deals with the history of these years not from a narrow insular point of view, but as it is related to the contemporary diplomatic conditions of Europe, especially those connected with the vexed question of the Palatinate. France and Spain were none too pleased to see the growing friendship between Pope Urban and Charles—a fact which rendered the Holy See very cautious in its negotiations and hampered its relations with the English King. Throughout these chapters much light is thrown on such topics as Charles's own religious views and those of his chief councillors; his attitude towards his Catholic subjects and the obstacles to their toleration, particularly those arising from the Oath of Allegiance; the hopes in Rome of his conversion and of "reunion," and the difficulties in the way; Con's personal relations with Charles and Henrietta Maria, his influence at Court, his labours on behalf of Catholics, who at times made trouble for themselves by their indiscreet zeal; the desire of Charles and the Queen that Con should be made a Cardinal, the hesitancy of Rome in the long-drawn-out and eventually abortive negotiations in this respect; the growing opposition of the Puritans both in England and in Scotland to Charles's religious policy; the covert attempts of Laud to undermine Con's position, and the persecution of Catholics by the archbishop in a vain endeavour to mitigate the hostility of the Puritans.

These and the like subjects are treated by Father Albion with great clarity and in an objective and dispassionate manner. The latter feature of the work is due, no doubt, to his following the traditional method of Louvain, in letting the documents tell the story

deed it might be said that the author has carried the method to xtremes, has stood too aloof and given all too little of his own judgent and criticism. Still, it is a fault on the right side.

Excellent illustrations, a valuable bibliography and several appences of documents together with two others treating of Rome, Charles and Art, and of the King's attitude towards episcopacy, serve to omplete a work which is a credit both to the author and to the hisorical faculty at Louvain, for which it was written as a thesis for the octorate. The book should find a wide welcome, and will long remain he standard work on the subject. L. H.

LA REACTION PAIENNE. Etude sur la Polémique antichrétienne du 1*er au* VIe *siècle.* Par Pierre de Labriolle. Paris: Artisan du Livre. 1934. 40 fr.

M. DE LABRIOLLE has already won renown for his works on St. Ambrose and on the history of Latin Christianity, which have been translated nto English, and for his editions of St. Augustine and Juvenal. It is doubtful if he has ever written a better book than the one before us. Its modest appearance, and the business-like method which renders it brief and readable, do not detract from the serene elegance of its style and the grace with which its author clothes his truly remarkable learning. Students of early Christian history and literature will find it an indispensable handbook, and it is so complete, so well-written, and so packed with good sense that it is certain to rank as a classic of its kind.

Although so much has been written on the interaction of paganism and Christianity under the Roman Empire, it is curious that since Nathaniel Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*, published first in 1727, no one has had the idea of studying systematically the prolonged and powerful literary counter-attack which was called forth by the earliest Christian missionary successes. The task of examining what remains of this once voluminous pagan propaganda is one for which hardly anyone is better fitted than M. de Labriolle. As it represented the views of the losing side, it is natural enough that it now exists only in fragments. Its content has had to be reconstructed piece by piece, mainly from the answers to it which were composed by contemporary Christian writers.

One of the most interesting features of M. de Labriolle's book is the care and patience with which he retraces each step of this reconstruction. Another is his constant extensive quotation of the documents, each of which is analysed and criticised, while the opinions on it of modern scholarly authorities are weighed and sifted. Nothing that is relevant escapes consideration, and the final judgment is always the surest attainable. There is in this book none of the dogmatism

or delight in misleading and far-fetched "combination" which h so often accompanied the most brilliant scholarship in the study early Church history. It makes abundantly clear the fact that almo all the arguments for disbelief in the Gospels which are familiar t modern anti-Christian writers were already in use among the very ab pagan opponents of the Church from the first to the fourth centur Perhaps the most striking exception is one noted by M. de Labriol in his introduction to this book. The divinity of Christ was freel denied, but no one ever thought in ancient times of denying His exi tence; and the absence of this notion from the arguments of paga writers is its best refutation, in so far as it needs one.

The propaganda against Christianity first took systematic form i the Antonine period, with the famous *True Discourse* of Celsus. M de Labriolle examines carefully all the earlier references to th Christians that are known, beginning with the letter of Claudius to th Alexandrians, first published from a British Museum papyrus in 192 and deciding, as against Reinach and others, that its reference is purel to the Jews. His next document is the curious apocryphal corre pondence between Seneca and St. Paul. From this he passes on t Pliny's correspondence with Trajan, of which it may be remarked tha an interesting new interpretation has been published in the America journal, *Classical Philology*, since his book appeared. There follow a discussion of Tacitus, Suetonius, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, th second-century Apologists, Apuleius, Aristides and Galen, with most interesting section on Lucian—of whom it is remarked that h is the *only* pagan writer who finds the "folly" of the Christians in offensive.

There are three outstanding figures in the later polemics against th new religion, each of whom sums up the pagan attitude for his century Celsus in the second century, Porphyry in the third, and Julian in th fourth. Celsus's work can be largely reconstructed from Origen equally famous reply to it more than fifty years later. The recon struction of Porphyry's great treatise, *Contra Christianos*, was onl completed, so far as it is possible to do so, by Harnack in 1916 Although so much else of Julian's literary output has survived, hi *magnum opus, Against the Galilaeans*, is only very partially known fron the reply to it composed nearly a century later by Cyril of Alexandria Of these three, Porphyry was easily the most formidable; he was philosopher of very high rank, and was the only one of the three whos reputation in later Christian schools overcame the hostility arouse by his writings. He had a knowledge of the Bible almost equal t that of the Christian doctors themselves, and M. de Labriolle show in a final chapter how his arguments gave rise to a whole series o replies which passed down as text-books—*Quaestiones*—to the Middl

Ages. The curious combination of sympathy and antipathy evinced for Celsus by Origen is brought out in one of the most fascinating chapters of the book ; and it would be difficult to find a more concise and yet searching discussion of Julian's passionate but not very original criticisms than is given here. Perhaps the most striking feature of the whole counter-attack was the fact that, in the course of it, pagan beliefs themselves had to be remade, and that the Hellenism of Julian was very largely influenced by Christianity as well as by other Oriental forces.

It is not possible to do more than hint at the wealth of material that is so admirably ordered and displayed in this masterly work. Two trifling corrections may be offered as a conclusion. The famous *graffito* of Alexamenos adoring his god is not now in the Museo Kircher but in the Museo delle Terme (p. 198) ; and *mystroctes* (p. 275) cannot mean "mangeur-de-rats," as the animal was not known in ancient times.

M. T.

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION : ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT. By Various Contributors under the direction of Edward Eyre. In seven volumes. Vol. I. Prehistoric Man and Earliest Known Societies. 25s. Vol. II. Rome and Christendom. 15s. Vol. III. The Middle Ages. 18s. Oxford University Press. 1935.

Mr. Eyre has set his reviewers a difficult task. This survey of European civilization has been planned on an ambitious scale ; and some of the contributors to the first three volumes bear names that are of international reputation. An essay, however short, by Fr. W. Schmidt, S.V.D., on Primitive Man ; another by Professor J. L. Myres on the primitive ethnology of the Near East and Mediterranean ; a third by Professor T. E. Peet on Ancient Egypt ; and two essays by M. Charles Jean of the Ecole Nationale du Louvre on the history of the East, including Babylonia, Assyria, India, and Phoenicia : these are guarantees sufficient that the first volume must command the attention of scholars. And there are names among the contributors to Vols. II. and III. which are no less distinguished. Professor A. E. Taylor, for example, writes in Vol. III. on Ancient and Medieval Philosophy ; and M. Jean Guiraud is the chief contributor to the historical survey of the Middle Ages. Some of the other contributors are less widely known ; but their contributions to these three volumes give cause for believing that their reputations must grow steadily. Dr. W. E. Brown is known already to students of the Middle Ages by two or three volumes which, though short, are exceptionally able. His essay in Vol. II. of this series on Early Christianity to the Edict of Milan is a model of compressed statement combined with hard, solid thought and argument. Mr. A. W. Gomme's two essays on Greece and Early

Rome mark him out as a brilliant historical essayist, who has his own point of view and knows well how to put it.

Yet a Catholic reviewer must pause to ask certain questions as he studies these volumes. From the character of these first volumes and from the names of many of the contributors to each volume of the series, it is fair to assume that this ambitious and costly enterprise marks an effort to state the Catholic or at least the traditional point of view, as opposed to prevailing modern judgments on European history. If this be so, then a reviewer must ask: why has this survey been planned on such a scale as to involve—at obviously great expense—a repetition in detail of much that is common to every serious study of European history? The attempt, not merely to correct prevailing errors in judgment, but also—and this is perhaps still more important—to supplement the current text-books and "standard authorities" by a bold and straightforward statement of much that is commonly ignored or misunderstood, needs (at a low estimate) all the available space of these seven bulky volumes. At the best, no matter how well the series may be planned, there will be gaps in such a statement; and the general impression is bound to be scrappy. To the present reviewer, at any rate, these first three volumes seem curiously ill-proportioned and (to that extent) disappointing. If primitive ethnology is to be included, as it is here included, in this survey, then it is surely less than fair to a scholar of Fr. Schmidt's eminence that his essay should be limited to eighty pages, much of which is frankly topical and apologetic in character. Or, to turn from Vol. I. to Vol. III., is there not ground for complaint in the fact that medieval Catholic Philosophy is not allotted an independent chapter in the series? Professor A. E. Taylor commands our respect when he writes on ancient Philosophy; and he is no doubt a keen student of scholastic writings. But here, if anywhere, there was room for a bold policy since a contempt for medieval scholasticism is altogether characteristic of nineteenth century (and to a large extent of twentieth century) historical writing. Mr. Eyre has rightly gone outside the English-speaking world for many of his contributors. Was it not possible for him to secure a contribution from M. De Wulf or Dr. Grabmann or M. Gilson—or from some of their more distinguished pupils? Professor Taylor's survey is frankly jejune and disappointing when he passes from Greece and Rome to the Middle Ages.

But it is more easy to criticise than to accomplish; and here is a bold effort, conceived ambitiously, and executed with a generous disregard for cost that is an example to all. Four more volumes have yet to be added to the series (of which the total cost is now advertised as six guineas); and the long list of future contributors includes such names as Professor F. M. Powicke, Mr. Christopher Hollis, Father

Fyles Ronan, Dom H. Leclerq, Father M. C. D'Arcy, Dr. T. Corcoran, Mr. Douglas Woodruff, Father P. Charles, Father E. O'Brien and many others. We congratulate the director of the series on the appearance of these first three volumes, and we wish his bold enterprise every success in his purpose of stating the traditional and Catholic view of the origin and development of our modern, sorely-harassed civilization.

A. G.

CHURCH AND STATE IN TUDOR IRELAND. By Robert Dudley Edwards, M.A. (N.U.I.), Ph.D. (London). Dublin : Talbot Press. 1935. 18s.

THIS work of Dr. Edwards deals only with the early years of the conflict of religions in Ireland—from the beginning of the Reformation movement in 1534 to the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603. During the entire of this period, moreover, the real power of the English Government extended fully over but a small portion of the country—the four Pale counties and the towns. Still it was during this comparatively short space of time that the issue of the conflict was decided —Ireland, as a whole, was to keep the Catholic faith ; while England, as a whole, was to lose it.

Within the seven decades of which the author treats there were several phases. Henry VIII desired, while severing the connection with Rome, to adhere to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Edward VI and Elizabeth went further and established a church definitely Protestant. Still the aim pursued by all these sovereigns—and indeed, in a sense, even by the Catholic Queen Mary—in their church policy in Ireland was really the same. Each desired that the creed professed by the Irish and the ecclesiastical institutions of the country should be the same as those of England. Their reasons for so desiring were in each case political. They were concerned with the material interests of England, not with the spiritual interests of the Irish people. Neither Henry, nor those who governed in his son's name, nor Elizabeth would have held that the profession of " Romish " doctrines or the practice of " Romish " observances endangered salvation.

For a considerable time the new church policy of the Government was met in Ireland by a resistance rather passive than active ; on the part of the secular clergy there was " merely a neglect to preach and teach to order." " The Fourme of the Beades " compiled by the King's Archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, was generally read without comment from the pulpits of the churches of the Pale counties and of the towns. The Oath of Supremacy was not denounced—nothing whatever was said about it. The monks and nuns expelled from their convents went quietly. Many accepted the pensions assigned to them by the State.

The attitude taken up by the townsfolk and by the Anglo-Iris in general was much the same. When ordered to attend the Reforme services on Sundays, they at first usually did so; though very fre quently they had previously heard Mass at an earlier hour in the morn ing. Their conduct may seem to us somewhat peculiar; for at leas practically all were sincerely attached to the Catholic Church, an the more educated must have been aware of the papal condemnatio of the innovations. The explanation, one not till now much stresse by historians, is briefly this. They did not desire to identify them selves wholly with the native Irish, and still less did they wish t definitely break with the English Government. Dr. Edwards speak of them as "loyal." Perhaps they were, in the sense that the North East-Ulster man of our own day is "loyal." Unluckily for them, th authorities across the Channel would not admit that political loyalt could be compatible with spiritual allegiance to the Pope. So, t some extent in the period under consideration, but still more durin the two centuries that followed it, the majority of them threw in thei lot with Catholicity and with Ireland. Thus, to a great extent owin to the short-sighted policy of the Tudor, the Stuart and the Hanoverian Governments, Irish political nationality was born.

Dr. Edwards devotes much attention to the question of the con formity of the Irish bishops. In 1534, when the Reformation started there were thirty-two prelates holding Irish episcopal appointments. Of these our author considers that seven in actual residence in th country gave "some faint-hearted support to the changes." Ever of the seven, he holds the case of one, Coyne of Limerick, as doubtful We should ourselves consider that of Bodkin of Tuam more doubtfu still. The remaining bishops did not conform at all. Only one of th prelates papally appointed, Staples of Meath, showed any zeal for th Reformation.

King Henry was well aware of the difficulties of the situation By going too far he might change the passive opposition of the prelate into active resistance; and if this happened, assuredly the clergy and ultimately the laity would follow them. In view of this, the authori ties in Ireland were directed to proceed cautiously. The Oath o Supremacy was not exacted from the prelates actually in possessio of the sees. They were merely required to surrender their bulls t the Government. This several of them did, believing or pretending to believe that their action implied no more than a territorial allegiance As far as we know, none of them, if they remained otherwise orthodox were officially censured by the Pope. The Sovereign Pontiffs, it must be remembered, were pursuing also a cautious policy. England might yet abandon the schism and return to the fold. It would be unwise to needlessly antagonise her rulers.

The reign of Edward VI saw the beginning of the regular doctrinal Reformation in England and consequently of attempts to spread this in Ireland, but it ended in 1553 with the boy-king's death. The Catholic reaction during the five years of Mary's rule presents the curious picture of a Queen who, though a sincere Catholic, was sufficiently a Tudor to desire to extend her power over the Church to the utmost limit allowed by orthodoxy. For Ireland and the Irish she had either sympathy nor even understanding. In the one instance—that of Kilmainham—where she ventured to restore monastic possessions, she appointed an Englishman as prior. She desired that clerics should be selected "in England" to fill positions in Ireland.

When Elizabeth came to the throne in November 1558, her attitude in regard to the religious question did not long remain doubtful. The first clear indication of it was the order that, when she was present at Mass, the Host should not be elevated. This direction was pretty generally disobeyed in England; in Ireland, of course, it did not apply. By the way Dr. Edwards appears to be in error in saying that, at the Queen's coronation, Mass was said by "a junior bishop." The Italian authority "Schifanoya" who has left us a minute account of the ceremony, of which he was a witness, says distinctly that the celebrant was a Dean, Elizabeth's chaplain, all the bishops having refused the office.

The Irish policy pursued by the Queen was at first not greatly different from that of her father and of her brother; but as time went on and the power of the Crown was extended, there was greater severity. Still, all through her reign the necessity for caution was not forgotten, and during the period of the O'Neill wars in the closing decade of the century this was particularly apparent. The Oath of Supremacy was, our author considers, tendered to no more than five of the Marian bishops; and of these, two refused it. When prelates or priests were executed, it was emphasized that they suffered, not for their religion, but for treason.

The attitude of the masses of the people toward the religious innovations became ever more hostile as these were better understood. The parochial system had been disarranged and the parochial clergy driven out wherever the English power extended; the larger monasteries had been suppressed; but the "poor begging friars," the Dominicans and particularly the Franciscans remained, and on them mainly the religious instruction of the rural population devolved. Of necessity this instruction was limited, but a firm belief in the Catholic Church, a steady adherence to the orders of the Sovereign Pontiff, remained.

Dr. Edwards' book is one that deserves careful study from anyone interested in a very important phase of Irish history. His impartiality is remarkable, and he has spared no pains to ensure accuracy in detail.

For example, he is the first who has fully investigated the writings o Robert Ware and revealed the extent of his forgeries. It is to b hoped that, in a future volume, he will give us an account of late phases of the religious struggle in Ireland. M. T. H.

HISTOIRE DE LA DALMATIE. Par le Comte L. de Voinovitch Paris : Hachette. 1934. 2 vols. 60 fr.

A HISTORY OF ROME. 753 B.C. to 410 A.D. By Cyril F Robinson. London : Methuen. 8s. 6d. net.

THE two beautifully illustrated and well-documented volumes in whic M. de Voinovitch treats of Dalmatian history through the ages appea at first sight to be an offence against the unity of history. Beginnin with the legendary voyage of Cadmus, the author first tells the stor of barbarian Illyricum, then of its vicissitudes as a Roman provinc its conquest by the Slavs in the sixth century, its history as a borde land between Venice and Hungary during the Middle Ages, its lon period under the sole domination of Venice, its briefer incorporatio in the Empire of Austria, and its final "return to its home" in th United Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. In this vas panorama the only unifying principle is that of geography, for Dal matia has three times changed its national characteristics, having bee first Illyrian, then Roman (with its own Latin dialect) and then Sla

The geographical principle does however give M. Voinovitch story an interest of its own. Professor Toynbee has recently taugh us the supremely important part played by march-lands in the histor of civilisation. Dalmatia forms part of the no-man's land betwee East and West, and as such it has always tended to draw to itself o to produce from its own soil some of the most vigorous champions o both regions. It played a very important part in the struggle betwee Rome and Macedon ; it gave birth to Diocletian, the great saviour o the Roman Empire, and possibly to St. Jerome (though in his cas M. Voinovitch has to indulge in some vigorous polemics, notably agains M. Paul Monceaux, who claims him for Italy) ; and its later histor was never destitute of picturesque personalities. Readers who ar interested in the more colourful aspect of historical studies will fin that M. Voinovitch always rises fully to his opportunities in this respect His very chapter headings are pictures in themselves : "Le March Infâme," "Les Griffes du Lion Ailé," "Un Divorce Tragique"—such titles give a sufficient indication of the book's spirit. Special chapter on the history of Ragusa and on the artistic and literary connection of Dalmatia round off an eloquent work, which is equipped with an exhaustive bibliography.

Mr. Cyril Robinson, who is also known as the author of a history of England in four volumes, a history of Greece, a work on politica

conomy, and a commentary on St. Mark's Gospels, has produced in ne work before us a most useful summary in four hundred and fifty ages of Roman history from A. U. C. to Alaric's sack of the city. The book is well provided with good maps, but the illustrations are ot as good as they might be, and a bibliography would have been seful even in schools. Mr. Robinson writes well, if sometimes a rifle hurriedly (he never gets Zenobia's husband quite accurate), and is opinions are in general sound. Here and there one would wish or a little more liberation from conventional judgments, as for instance n the insistence on Caesar's megalomania, which is mostly partisan propaganda, or the condemnation of Diocletian's final severance between the civil and the military power. It is very strange how modern vriters fail to give credit to the great reformer for introducing into he Roman system what has become a cardinal principle of all civilised modern government.

The great merit of the book is that it tells the story of Rome as a continuity and does not leave the student under the impression that the golden age passed with the ending of the disastrous republican anarchy by Caesar. Its special attention to economic and social developments and to the history of literature and art is also a welcome feature, and it may be confidently recommended as a very good book for the beginner or the layman.

M. T.

Mysticism

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF ST. JOHN OF THE CROSS. Translated from the critical edition of P. Silverio de Santa Teresa, C.D. (Burgos 1929-31) and edited by Professor E. Allison Peers. Volume II. The Spiritual Canticle and Poems. London : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1934. Pp. vii + 470. 15s.

The second volume of Professor Peers' edition contains the Spiritual Canticle and the poems. Readers who are more or less familiar with earlier translations may be surprised at the size of the volume and at the space the Canticle takes in it : only 38 pages out of 470 are given to the poems.

The reason of this is that there are really two versions of the Canticle. One is preserved in the Sanlúcar codex, containing marginal and interlinear notes in the handwriting of St. John of the Cross himself, and a note on the title-page, saying : " This book is the rough copy from which a fair copy has already been made. Fray Juan de la Cruz." The other redaction, found in the Jaen codex, contains in one form or another the notes written by the Saint on the other codex ; further, it develops and unifies the argument of the earlier and shorter redaction, alters the order of several of the stanzas and adds a new stanza.

In recent times doubt has been thrown on the genuineness of th second redaction. Professor Peers, following P. Silverio, conclud in favour of it, and the two redactions are printed in full, taking 1 and 222 pages respectively. From the point of view of critical schola ship it is doubtless the right solution. But readers whose chief intere is devotional would be well satisfied to have the second version b itself. It includes the first ; and if some of the additions, such as th new 11th stanza and the commentary on it, are not by St. John, the reveal an unknown spiritual genius extraordinarily akin to him.

In all of St. John of the Cross' writings there is a quality, appearin at intervals, that we can only describe as ecstatic. The reader is su prised, perhaps in the midst of an aridly precise scholastic discussio to find himself swept off his feet into a world of overpowering strang ness. More than anywhere else is this the case with the Cantic " These stanzas," he says, " appear to be written with a certain fervou of the love of God " ; and it is doubtful if any stanzas ever writte outside of the Scriptures, better merited the description. Accordingl he does not undertake in his commentary to analyse them scientifically " It would be ignorance to think that sayings of love understoo mystically, such as those of the present stanzas, can be fairly explaine by words of any kind." And therefore his explanations, though clea and strong, are intellectually simple, but are shot through and tran figured with mystical passion.

The translation is clear and straightforward, and easy to rea The introduction contains a masterly little sketch of the poem and o the way in which its theme develops. One would wish it longer. Th book is beautifully printed and brought out. M. F. E.

THE SPIRITUAL LETTERS OF DOM JOHN CHAPMAN Edited with introduction by Dom Roger Hudleston. London Sheed & Ward. 1935. 8s. 6d. net.

ABBOT CHAPMAN ON PRAYER. By Dom Roger Hudleston London : Sheed & Ward. 1935. 6d.

It was with considerable surprise that I read in the *Month* for June very severe criticism of the *Spiritual Letters* of Dom John Chapman to which Dom Hudleston's pamphlet is a reply. Personally charme and delighted with this collection of racy, vigorous and illuminatin letters, I was no little shocked to discover that so great an authorit on the spiritual life as the Archbishop of Hierapolis criticised s severely the views expressed by a great scholar. Dom Hudleston article in the *Downside Review*, now reprinted as a pamphlet, has muc relieved my mind. It is an excellent exercise in the difficult art o refutation ; and like the criticism that provoked it, it is a model o urbane controversy.

It is easy to see the cause of Archbishop Goodier's misgivings. etters of direction are like a doctor's prescriptions, they are only ıtended for the patient; used indiscriminately they may cause grave ·ouble. The spiritual treatment suited to an advanced contemplative ight be very unhygienic for a bustling Martha. And to add to this ıtrinsic difficulty we have Abbot Chapman's peculiarities of style. 'or instance, in several places he uses the term *prayer* not as meaning ›rayer in general, but in the very specific sense of *obscure contemplaion* as understood by St. John of the Cross. This is quite clear to the xpert reader from the context; but to the unlearned it is often ›uzzling and disturbing, as it gives some directions a Quietist colour apable of even deceiving the elect.

Another disconcerting feature of the Abbot's style is its humorous igour and exaggeration. To his penitents who understood his meanng thoroughly he must have been a golden director, but the ordinary eader can easily take him up wrongly if he does not use some sanctified ommon sense.

As a collection of documents dealing at first hand with mystical xperience, particularly in its early stages, this collection of letters is of enormous value. The Abbot was a very acute observer and had a rare power of expressing himself. His psychological observations are a distinct addition to mystical science and will form an excellent companion to Poulain's masterpiece. As a philosopher of mysticism one must strongly reserve one's judgment. His view of mystical experience as a sort of survival of an angelic faculty exercised by Adam in Paradise, a sort of angeliform appendix of the human psyche, surviving actively in the mystics but atrophied in the ordinary man, a preternatural rather than a supernatural power of the soul, seems to me quite unwarranted. This hypothesis of the sporadic existence of a superintellect in certain human beings, not in itself beyond the order of nature, but like our normal psychic powers capable of elevation to the supernatural order by grace, would certainly explain "mystic phenomena" in the case of non-Christians; but I think it would involve, as a corollary, the principle that mystics were specifically different from other human beings; the mystic, Sufi or Christian Saint, would be more than a mere man in the order of nature. Nor would the Abbot's hypothesis explain the essential obscurity of mystical experience, for to posit obscurity in an angeliform faculty seems an absurdity to a Thomist like myself. The philosopher who would construct a theory to explain obscure mystical contemplation as described by St. John of the Cross must not evade the issue of its fundamental obscurity both in the noetic and affective order. The hypothesis of the survival of some angeliform faculty would explain a knowledge superior to merely human science, but not that which is

beyond knowledge—mystical experience in the strict and proper sens of the term, the "Unknowing" which is the true mystical knowledg of God, the real "Riddle of Contemplation."

Here, it seems to me, we find the real weakness in Abbot Chapman system, and not on its practical side. Still, theories are apt to deter mine practice, and it may be that some of his directions which appea excessive may have their origin in this theory. JOHN HOWLEY

Philosophy

HUME'S THEORY OF THE UNDERSTANDING. By Ralp W. Church. London: Allen and Unwin. 1935. Pp. 238. 7s. 6d

PHILOSOPHICAL STUDIES. By the late J. McT. Ellis McTag gart. Edited by S. V. Keeling. London: Edward Arnold 1934. Pp. 292. 12s. 6d.

THE traditional acceptation of Hume is influenced by Green, whos elaborate dissection of his system, while intended to dispose c Empiricism once and for all, incidentally gave Hume a great advertise ment, and was, indeed, probably responsible for the revival of interes in his philosophy. Hume has had a large following; lately, however not only philosophical criticism but psychological tendency also hav gone against him. His "atomism," and even his "associationism have been pronounced as "dead as a door-nail." The feeling is als widely spread that there is something seriously wrong with his idealis identification of bodies with perceptions. Recently a well-know philosopher has confessed to a "haunting doubt whether Hume wa really a great philsopher or only a very clever man."

Dr. Church's closely written study is an attempt to vindicat Hume; not, apparently, by showing that his philosophy is correct— for he is ready to admit serious errors in it—but by setting his syster in a different focus. He contends that Hume's main constructiv positions are independent of the doctrines for which he is usuall attacked, viz., his theory of impressions and ideas, and his atomism To this end he gives a lengthy exposition of Hume's distinctive doc trines: the distinction of impressions and ideas, the nature of genera ideas, the distinction of natural and philosophical relations, the analysi of cause and substance, causal inference, the self, knowledge and belief He brings out especially the point that experience for Hume does no normally consist of isolated impressions, but of perceptions, beliefs "syntheses in habit," the result of the "gentle force of association." This to some extent disarms the criticism of his "atomism," whil at the same time leaving some room for the paradoxical but to Hum self-evident principle that whatever is distinguishable is separable Some forcing is required to fit Hume into this position; and the diffi culty increases as Dr. Church seeks to show that Hume's theories o

usation, substance, and the self are independent of his theory that very idea is a copy of some impression. In his anxiety to show that ume was mainly a constructive philosopher he belittles the negative de of his system.

The book is valuable for its compact expositions of Hume's positive eories, but as an attempt to rescue Hume it is more ingenious than nvincing.

The various papers by McTaggart, collected by Dr. Keeling in e volume "Philosophical Studies," show us a philosophy the ntithesis of Hume's. Dr. Keeling, in the Introduction, draws an teresting contrast between McTaggart's philosophical method and hat of the contemporary Humian movement at Cambridge, repre- ented by Russell. Both are extremes; but there can be no doubt hat McTaggart's method of philosophizing, which aims at strict bjective proof, is preferable to that of Russell, who bases his views ot on definite argument but on the fact that they correspond to a revailing habit of mind.

This volume is particularly interesting as giving side by side two tatements of McTaggart's philosophical position, one his earliest vriting, at the age of twenty-seven, the other written a year before his leath. It is remarkable that the conclusions in both are essentially he same. The development during the intervening thirty years was n elaboration of different arguments and a different method. The arlier writing is fresher, and easier to understand. It is Hegelian in natter and manner. In the later writing it is the manner that has hanged. The defects of McTaggart's philosophy are the defects of Hegelianism; as a thinker he was earnest, subtle and profound.

J. S.

Politics

RELIGION AND THE MODERN STATE. By Christopher Dawson. London: Sheed and Ward. 1935. 6s. net.

This book deals not with the question of the relation of Church and State in any abstract way, but with concrete issues that for Christians are every day becoming more and more vital. For it is increasingly obvious that it will be more difficult to evade much longer the challenge to religion thrown down by the modern State and modern political developments. The answer that will ultimately be given will be no easy one to determine; for there will be need not only of the firm enunciation of basic principles, but also of the application of these principles to the circumstances of each particular case. It would be idle to expect that Mr. Dawson should undertake to give anything like a full answer to the many questions that are raised by himself and that must arise in the mind of any earnest reader. What he has

succeeded in doing is to throw a great deal of light on the whole i volved question, to show what is at stake, to put forward princip and viewpoints which indicate the roads along which a solution is be found—a valuable piece of work.

In the Europe of to-day there are powers whose hostile attitu to religion, and to the Church in particular, comes before us in a ve arresting and spectacular manner. But Mr. Dawson is on absolute solid ground when he sees in the policies of Stalin, Hitler and Kem the most striking manifestations of a development that has gone for centuries and that in one way or another finds evermore acceptan in all countries. The excesses of Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germa are put in their proper perspective—and therein is to be found one the outstanding qualities of this book. The State and the nation ha become objects of worship ; they have in many ways taken the pla of God ; they have became the last end of humanity. That is t conception that, fully brought to consciousness or unsuspected colouring men's whole outlook, forms the real root of the trouble. Wit it goes the belief—shared by how many ?—that a reform of politic and economic institutions is sufficient to secure human happiness an contentment.

There are many earnest, unselfish people, idealists of all kind shaken by the manifest social injustices, who would not only shrink fro the extreme manifestations of secularism just mentioned, but would b prepared to fight to the death against them, but who may yet, as M Dawson points out, fall a prey to the more subtle implications of th same root evil when they take the form of ameliorative social legi lation. State-systems making, from the religious point of view, th same totalitarian claims in principle as the Nazi and the Bolshevi may slip into easy and unnoticed acceptance. " Our temptations a more subtle, but no less real. It may be harder to resist a totalitaria state which relies on free milk and birth-control clinics than one whic relies on castor oil and concentration camps."

In all lands—following an increase of state power and interferen that in modern economic conditions is probably unavoidable, bu following also the urge of modern political development for centuries– the State is assuming more and more dominion over the souls of me as well as over their goods and bodies. The whole of life is passin into its control, and it in its turn is manifesting a growing jealousy any rival claims on the part of other organisations—and especiall of the Churches. In some States practically all social and welfa work is being taken out of the hands of religious organisations—th logical outcome of the attitude that religion is something essentiall personal and private. Thus for most lands there is truth in M Dawson's warning : " The great danger that we have to meet is not th

nger of violent persecution but rather that of the crushing out of ligion from modern life by the sheer weight of a state-inspired public inion and by the mass organisation of society on a purely secular asis."

But whilst dwelling on the disastrous consequences of the separation religion from social and political life, Mr. Dawson does not fall into ie easy mistake of assuming that the Church has to undertake the work f the State or of economic institutions. It is not by such or analogous ieans that the Church has to bring salvation to the world. It is the pirit of modern civilisation, to a greater extent even than institu- ons, that stands in need of reform. It is not the task of the hurch to supply political and economic remedies, much less panaceas, or the world's ills. The political and religious categories must not be onfused. Many in their anxiety for the cause of religion and im- ressed with the seriousness of the danger are apt to be victims of his confusion and to regard it as a life and death matter for the Church o come forward with ready-made political and economic plans to ave the situation.

There is much that the reader will find stimulating in this volume, even in those passages with which he cannot wholly agree. If he eels that occasionally Mr. Dawson is more successful in putting his ital questions than in supplying satisfying answers for them, he will on reflection realise that this is inevitable. He will not, however, ome away from the study of this book without being impressed by he deep insight of the author into the very important problems dis- ussed and the ability and earnestness with which their solution is approached.

J. M. O'S.

L'U.R.S.S. DANS LE MONDE. Par Jean Marquès-Rivière. Paris : Payot. 1935. 25 fr.

THE purpose of this book may be described as the consideration of the extent to which Russia is a menace to the existing civilisation of other countries. The author is determined not to minimise this danger and therefore refuses to follow the easy road to a sense of comfort and security by foreseeing the collapse of the Bolshevik experiment. He in no way underestimates the extent of what has already been achieved and the profound change, even spiritual change, that has already been accomplished. Indeed in this regard, despite his repeated assurance that he confines himself to facts, he seems at times too prone to an uncritical acceptance of Soviet propaganda—too ready to accept proposal for achievement. By doing so he is the less likely, it is true, to underestimate the appeal that the U.S.S.R., by its very existence and activities, makes to large masses in the rest of the world. But in this respect a comparison with the estimate recently given by Mr.

Chamberlin is very instructive on all the different points touched b the two authors. Incidentally we may remark that the comparis will illustrate the difficulty of arriving even at the "facts" where th U.S.S.R. is concerned.

The first part of the book is, so to speak, introductory and dea with the Russian achievement. The author stresses not merely th extent of the material accomplishment, but also the revolution tha has taken place in the whole disposition of the Russian people. Th Dynamic has supplanted the Passive. There are passages that see to suggest that the entire working population of the Union have becom enthusiastic "shock workers," entirely devoted to the realisatio of the famous "Plan." He takes at their own valuation the claim of the Bolsheviks in this and in other respects—attaching, perhap an exaggerated value to the inspiration brought to the ordinary ma by the fact that the workers are supposed to own the State and th industries. But this account of Russia itself is merely auxiliary to th main purpose of the book. Yet even here, though we may not alway agree with the author, much light is thrown on many phases of develop ment—for instance on the manner in which the "Plan" has bee made the object of a pseudo-religious worship.

There follows on this introductory part an excellent account of th development of the relations of the U.S.S.R. to Europe. The analog with the situation in 1793 and the following years is obvious and referred to by the author. As the Government in Russia becam settled and had, as a Government, to face its own specifically Russia problems, there was a distinct break with the attitude to Europe tha characterised the opening years, and we have seen the Soviet Gover ment gradually take her place among the other European governments —apparently a cleavage between the Russian Foreign Office and th Third International Control.

But when we go outside to the other continents of the old world the tactics are quite different to those that experience has inculcate as best suited to the European situation. In both Asia and Afric the propagandist methods and outlook of the Third Internationa have the upperhand. For Africa we have a very interesting analysi of the methods adopted and an exposition of the various phases i the evolution of the complete plan of campaign : starting with stimu lation of nationalist discontent, leading through organisation, riot and revolts to the final setting up of a nationalist government—i time to be found incompetent and so destined to be replaced by "true government" of the people. Here Islam is stimulated an appealed to against "colonial imperialism," and the agents of th Third International appear as the champions of freedom and of Islami consolidation and greatness—a contrast with the treatment in the Union

Equally instructive is the author's account of the Soviets' efforts the different countries in Asia—their successes and reverses. His iew is that Russia is essentially a non-European power, that she is t least half Asiatic, that she understands the Asiatic mind better than ne does the European, and that she therefore is much more likely o succeed in Asia than in Europe. Perhaps he carries too far the on-European outlook of the Russian. He is probably right in rejecting he argument that because a certain policy succeeded in Russia there- ore it will also meet with acceptance in the states of Europe, but we nust not overlook the fact that, though the same type of develop- nent may not take place in these states, allied developments, equally objectionable and stimulated by Russian example, do constitute a eal danger.

J. M. O'S.

Miscellaneous

MISSION DE LEON BLOY. By Stanislas Fumet. Paris: Desclée De Brouwer. 1935. 20 fr.

[F M. TERMIER's brief study remains in our opinion the best *Intro- duction* to an understanding of Léon Bloy, it is certain that the more enlightened student will find much helpful reading in the *Mission de Léon Bloy*, a solid volume which aims at presenting the fresh lights thrown on Bloy's writings by recently published letters and documents. There seems no question that the Bloy *culte* continues to spread in certain French circles. Though not professedly a biography, the present book conveys adequately the few external events in Bloy's career, while specialising in the more complex features of his attitude towards life. Thus there are two illuminating chapters on his meta- physic of Poverty and his conception of money as the "Blood of the Poor." Putting aside his savage assaults on the rich as inspired partly by his own pitiful experiences, no one has written with more poignant understanding of the spiritual significance of the poverty extolled by Holy Scripture. Yet how different is his approach from that of a Francis of Assisi!

Another chapter deals with Bloy's conception of sexual love, so intermingled in his case with spiritual aspirations as to produce in his earlier years disastrous results. These were the years in which he wrote *Le Désespéré*, the most notorious of his books, but one by which taken alone it is unfair to judge its author. Women played throughout a considerable part in his life, and it was indeed fortunate that his marriage to Jeanne Molbech, daughter of a Danish poet, in his forty-fifth year, definitely marked the close of this long period of spiritual and amatory *égarements* and was to prove the one true blessing of a tragic career which, to quote his own favourite adjective, was *inimaginable* to the conventional mind. Gone too were the extravagancies of Bloy's

earlier faith, some of a curiously messianic character, derived from th semi-delirious utterances of the unhappy Anne-Marie Roulé—th Véronique of *Le Désespéré*—who was destined to linger twenty-fiv years in a lunatic asylum. In the midst of poverty which frequentl amounted to literal destitution and in spite of the bitterness of hi railings against fate and, it must be added, the uncharitableness c many of the judgments he was wont to fling out, neither faith nc hope ever failed him again, and his fidelity to prayer and the sacra ments never slackened.

It is to these married years that all Bloy's best writings belong— *La Femme Pauvre*, the various volumes of the *Journal*, the *Exégès des Lieux Communs*, etc.—and M. Fumet stresses that this was th period of productiveness built up out of the sufferings and paroxysm of the previous years. In our opinion he takes too seriously the piou lucubrations of Anne-Marie's diseased brain as a formative influenc on Bloy's literary development; his association with that poor creatur would seem to have been wholly regrettable. But he is no doubt righ in attributing much importance on the intellectual side to Bloy's al too brief friendship with the Abbé Tardif de Moidrey, a close friend o and co-worker with Père Bailly and one of the ardent promoters o devotion to La Salette. It was the Abbé who first introduced th struggling young author to the shrine and, had not death intervened planned to take him to the Holy Land. Moreover he would seem t have been the only priest fully to understand Bloy's wayward geniu and to have definitely befriended him. At the same time Bloy owe more than he himself would admit to the generous friendship of tha delicate, reticent writer, Ernest Hello, and not a little too to Huysmans with whom he quarrelled subsequently; but his later spiritual lif was mainly refreshed and deepened by his constant reading of mystica writers, mostly women—Angela of Foligno, Catherine of Genoa, Anne Catherine Emmerich—but above all by his daily study of the Gospels and of St. Paul and by devotion to the liturgy. M. Fumet finds many traces of Hebraic origins in his spiritual perceptions, a fact in curious contradiction to much contained in his volume *Le Salut par les Juifs*. For him, writes M. Fumet, the salvation of the world is "nailed to Israel," and the whole problem of the Jewish race in the providence of God remained for him a subject of insoluble mystery.

Like all men gifted with a streak of genius, Bloy had a profound conviction of the permanent value of his creative work, a view which is apt to strike the uninitiated onlooker as mere arrogance. Time, however, is justifying Leon Bloy's arrogance, and young French writers are realising more and more how much they may learn from his uncompromising attitude of protest against all that is false and conventional and meretricious in our life and literature. Unfortunately from the

oint of view of literary criticism M. Fumet is unsatisfying, and there still room for a study of Bloy as artist and novelist, with an analysis his sumptuous and rhythmical prose. V. M. C.

NITED STATES MINISTERS TO THE PAPAL STATES: INSTRUCTIONS AND DESPATCHES, 1848–1868. Edited with Introduction by Leo Francis Stock. Washington: Catholic University Press. 1933. $5.

HIS important and imposing volume of close on five hundred pages the first in a series of Documents which has been planned for publication by the American Catholic Historical Association. The nstructions and despatches included in this volume are here printed n full, with the necessary short explanatory notes and an admirably lear introduction by the Editor. American relations with the Holy ee date from December 15, 1784, when the Papal Nuncio at Paris vrote to the American Commissioners that his government had agreed o the opening of the two ports of Civitâ Vecchia and Ancona to the essels of the infant republic. In June 1797 the first United States onsul was commissioned in the papal dominions; and the series of American consuls was continued down to the year 1848, when American public opinion, favourably impressed by the liberal policy of Pius IX n the first year of his pontificate, made possible the appointment of a permanent minister. From this year to the year 1868, there was normally a United States Minister at the papal court, with instructions to distinguish carefully between the Holy Father's position as head of the temporal power and his purely spiritual position as head of the Catholic Church.

The correspondence which passed between the two governments during this period of seventy years lies in the Department of State at Washington and in the office of the papal Secretary of State in the Vatican. This first volume is composed solely of the documents in Washington, permission having been sought, but not granted, to reproduce copies of those documents which are in the Vatican and not at Washington. But the story told by the documents is substantially complete; and we have here a very full and detailed narrative of the various incidents which marked the diplomatic intercourse of the two states between the years 1848 and 1867. The earlier correspondence for the period from 1797 to 1847 will, it is hoped, be published in a second volume. When the full text of this important correspondence has been published in these two volumes, the American Catholic Historical Association will have rendered signal service to all students of modern diplomatic history; it will also have set an example which might well be copied by similar institutions here in Ireland.

Only a few points can be noted here: in general the details of this

lengthy correspondence are of interest mainly for the specialised studen
It is noteworthy that in the troubled year 1866, when England ha
invited the Holy Father to remove his curia from Rome to Malt
several officials of the papal government hinted or stated explicitl
to the American Minister "that the only country in which the Pop
could seek and find a suitable and secure asylum was the great Republ
of America." Needless to say, these hints and statements were fa
from being official utterances; but they are none the less notable a
showing the impression that American idealism had made on th
government of the Holy See. In 1860 Cardinal Antonelli, in con
versation with the American Minister Stockton, had spoken of th
United States as "the only free country in the world." The document
which throw light on the Pope's attitude during the American Civ
War are of no less interest. From the first, the Pope declined t
grant any official recognition to the seceding States; and Antonel
told the American Minister in private conversation "that, if he ha
the honor of being an American citizen, he would do all in his pow
to preserve the nation undivided." Yet Pius IX was unfailingl
courteous to those various representatives of the Confederate State
who came to Rome to seek his recognition. One of them, A. Dudle
Mann, who was sent to Rome at an early stage with a letter to th
Pope from President Davis, wrote home to his government: "How
strikingly majestic the conduct of the Government of the Papal State
is in its bearing towards me when contrasted with the sneaking subter
fuges to which some of the Governments of Western Europe have ha
recourse in order to evade intercourse with our Commissioners!"
It is all the more to be regretted that, when the inevitable end cam
shortly before the collapse of the temporal power, the United State
withdrew their Minister, Rufus King, in so discourteous a manner a
to lead King to make a protest against this "unkind and ungenerou
return" for the constant good will of the Holy Father towards th
American government and people. P. D.

CONTRE PIE VII ET BONAPARTE. Le Blanchardisme, 1801-
1829. Par Abel Dechêne. Paris: Firmin Didot. 1932. 15fr.

In the year 1791 l'Abbé Blanchard, then parish preist of a small parish
near Lisieux, was one of the many French clergymen who resolutely
opposed the oath that was being administered in the name of the
Constitutional Church. A photograph of the protestation which he
wrote out in his own hand as a confession of faith forms the frontispiece
of this small volume. For the next five years Blanchard was one of a
colony of some 2,500 ecclesiastics who had taken refuge on British
territory in the island of Jersey. In 1796, under threat of a French
invasion, this colony was transported to England, and Blanchard

ttled in London, where he was to spend almost all the remainder of is life. In 1801 Pope Pius VII signed the Concordat with Bonaparte, nd protests were heard on all sides from the exiled French clergy. ime, then as always, was the great healer; and the Pope's policy revailed. But Blanchard was the leader of a small, but clamorous, roup in England, who established on Gallican principles of ecclesiastical overnment what came to be known as La Petite Eglise.

Father Dechêne has told the full story of this obscure schism in a olume of less than 200 pages. It is a story of unreasonableness ushed to most irritating extremes. Even the author's very lively arrative can hardly enliven this record of constant bickering and ntrigue; and the substance of the book has little interest for Irish eaders. But a curious accident makes the history of Blanchardism f some interest for the student of Irish ecclesiastical history. Blanchard's chief and most unrelenting opponent in England was the edoubtable Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District, Dr. Milner. Faced with a real schism in the neighbouring London district and knowing that the Cisalpine group, which was strongly entrenched in his own Vicariate, was in open sympathy with the French schismatics, Milner appealed from London (where Douglass and Poynter were hesitating in their action) to Armagh and Dublin and Baltimore. Dr. Troy lost no time in pronouncing clearly for the Pope and against Blanchard, and his action was supported by the united Irish hierarchy. Strained relations between London and Ireland were not unnaturally the result of this public difference of opinion, and those who are interested in the history of the Irish hierarchy in those difficult days should read Father Dechêne's narrative. The archives of Westminster and the printed pamphlets of Blanchard and his supporters are the main sources from which the narrative has been derived; and the relevant texts are quoted with such fullness as to make this slender volume a very real contribution to the history of Catholic policy in England and Ireland in the Napoleonic era.

P. D.

LES EXERCICES PRATIQUES DU "SEMINAIRE" EN THEOLOGIE. Par. J. de Ghellinck, S.J. Paris: Desclée De Brouwer. 1935. 20 fr.

LECTURES SPIRITUELLES DANS LES ECRITS DES PERES. By the Same. Paris: Desclée. 1935. 4 frs.

Recent papal legislation has imposed the practice of a theological or philosophical "Seminar" as part of the approved course required for the papal doctorate of theology or philosophy. Since the method is, in its origin, essentially German and since its practice has hitherto been limited to no more than a few of the larger Catholic Universities and Seminaries, there must be many who are at present in need of a

practical guide to this new system. No better guide could be desire than the author of these two small volumes. Father de Ghellinc has been for many years a Professor of Theology in the Jesuit Colleg of Louvain and (more recently) a Professor of Positive Theology i the Gregorian University. In both Rome and Louvain he has bee entrusted with the direction of " Seminar-work " with a class of picke students ; and there are many to-day who look back with gratitud to the experienced and sympathetic guidance which they received i his class.

Realising the necessity of a practical guide for those who lac personal experience of this highly-specialised method of teaching Fr. de Ghellinck has set himself to put on paper the results of his ow experience, supported by a very serious study of the Seminar in it historical development. An introductory chapter is followed by brief (but most useful) historical survey of the method as first practise by German and Belgian masters of European fame ; and there the follow chapters on the various possible forms of a Seminar-class, th choice of subjects for work, the practical direction of a Seminar and Pro-Seminar, the relation of such a class to the other courses on th programme of studies, and some very practical hints by way of con clusion on the necessary material equipment for a successful experi ment. The book is packed with information, and is nothing if no practical. We commend it most heartily to all who are interested i these problems of higher education, and very specially to those wh find themselves confronted with the responsibility of directing suc specialised class-work. And we join with the author's pupils in man lands in offering him our gratitude and respect for the help he has s freely given to so many who needed help.

The second small volume is no more than a short booklet wit practical suggestions as to where passages for spiritual reading ca be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. It is no mor than a booklet, but once again this booklet contains the fruits of muc sympathetic reading and experience ; and we feel sure that many priests who have acquired a taste for patristic studies in their years o theology will be grateful for the suggestions which are here made with a view to linking these same studies with the priest's personal efforts at sanctification and a growing union with God. A. G.

PHYSICO-CHEMICAL METHODS. By Joseph Reilly, M.A., D.Sc., and William Norman Rae, V.D., M.A. London : Methuen. 1933. 42s. net.

THE object of the authors of this fine volume is to give an account of the measurements employed in the various branches of what is now called " physical chemistry " ; for in many respects there is, to-day,

) hard and fast line of demarcation between the measurements nployed in physics and in chemistry. This is especially true of the ore recent investigations into the nature of matter. Thus the study nuclear physics depends both on the ordinary chemical reactions id on those determined by electrical methods, while the exact measure- ient of the atomic, optical, and electrical properties of every chemical ibstance involves the use of precise physical instruments. This ork is a completely revised edition of that published in 1926, which ad a great success. It has been brought up to date as far as is possible or any such work in the present rapid growth of scientific knowledge nd will be of permanent value. While the scope of the work does ot include the theoretical discussion of the many phenomena involved, he authors have in many cases given a brief and clear explanation, hich will be valued by students of both physics and chemistry. It ould be impossible even to enumerate the subjects dealt with, for ractically every branch of physico-chemical methods is included. t is safe to say, as Professor Donnan writes in the foreword, that no hemical laboratory and no serious student of chemical science can fford to dispense with this important treatise. Irish readers will ote with pleasure many references to the work of well-known scientists n our own country, such as Prof. Reilly himself, J. J. Drumm, P. J. Drumm, J. Dowling and others.

H. V. G.

CONTEMPORARY CHURCH HISTORY (1900–1925). By Orazio M. Premoli, Barnabite. Authorised translation from the Italian. Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1932. 10s. 6d.

Father Premoli has done a real service to Catholic writers and journalists the world over. Nothing is more difficult than to attempt a history of the contemporary world, and yet nothing is more needed for those who badly feel the lack of accurate information as to recent Catholic history. Inevitably a book of this kind must be superficial : we are far too near the events to be able to judge them deeply in their causes. But it is at least possible to give in clear and readable form a narrative of the outstanding events in their correct sequence. This Father Premoli has done ; and the plan of his book makes reference easy to all. Four introductory chapters are devoted to the work of four recent Popes : Leo XIII (1900–03) ; Pius X (1903–14) ; Benedict XV (1914–22) ; Pius XI (1922). There follow, chapter by chapter, the various countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Oceania.

A few words of criticism may help to explain the scope of this *Church History* and its limitations. The Italian text was published in 1925, and the narrative ends nominally with the year 1924. The English translator has very wisely made no effort to bring the narrative up to date beyond that year. And indeed it might fairly be said that

the narrative stops for most countries with the end of the Europea War. Here and there a movement which had developed before tha time is traced for a few more years in briefest outline ; but in gener there is little of value after the year 1921. In Italy, for example, th story stops almost dead with the rise of Fascism to power in 1922 in Germany there is no serious effort to explain the very interestin coalition between Centre and Socialists which has been so marked feature of post-war German politics ; in Ireland the little that is sai of the Sinn Fein movement ends with the signing of the Treaty i December 1921 and the Pastoral of the Irish Hierarchy of 1922.

Father Premoli is an Italian, and he has the natural gift of th Churchmen of his race for a more or less neutral view of world-politic so far as national and racial questions are concerned. On the cause of the Great War, for example, he has nothing at all to say ; and he i very cautious in his handling of Catholic sympathies in Italy in 191 His own sympathies are, however, plainly with France and England and the chapter on English history is characteristic of Italian Catholi opinion. Apart from the school-question, where Birrell and Libera figure as the villains of the piece, Father Premoli evidently holds tha the Anglican Ritualist movement is the most important phase c English religous life. P. D.

THE SPIRITUAL TEACHING OF ST. JOHN EUDES. B Charles Lebrun, C.J.M. Translated by Dom Basil Whelan O.S.B., M.A. London : Sands. 1935. 6s.

THE author of this book tells us that it is not to be taken as a study but as an essay whose object is to show the way to a definite synthesi of the teaching of St. John Eudes. This will not be possible until al the details of his teachings "have been minutely studied." Fathe Lebrun has taken as his chief guide *Le Royaume de Jésus*, in which the most complete exposition of the teaching of the Saint is to be found The name of St. John Eudes is chiefly associated with the foundation of two religious congregations and with his pioneer work as "Originato of the public worship of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary." Th Congregation of Jesus and Mary was founded for the professiona formation of clerics in seminaries and the re-awakening of the Christian spirit in the laity by the preaching of missions. The Congregation of our Lady of Charity was consecrated to the Heart of Mary and wa composed of women who were to devote themselves to the conversion of penitents. The part played by the Saint in promoting devotion to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary has been proclaimed by the Church and is set out in the Decree of Beatification. The writings here considered are examined under the headings : Devotion to the Incarnate Word, Life of Jesus within us, Prayer, Christian Virtues

iesthood. Since the orthodoxy of a Saint's writings is a necessary ment of Canonisation, it will be recognised that we have here a dy of doctrine which is beyond suspicion. The volume is well inted, and the translation is in a clear and easy style. C. D.

Books Received

ARCLAY, VERA. Joc and Colette at the Natural History Museum. (Burns Oates, 3/6).

ELL, H. IDRIS. Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other Early Christian Papyri. (British Museum, 4/–).

OLTON, GEOFFREY. Junior Latin Composition. (Gollancz, 3/6).

OLTON, GEOFFREY. A Greek Grammar. (Gollancz, 3/6).

RION, MARCEL. Théodoric: Roi des Ostrogoths. (Payot, 25 fr.).

AUN, PADRAIG DE. Iodhbairt Ifigéine. Dráma le Euripides. (Stationery Office, 1/–).

UISSON, ALBERT. Le Chancelier Antoine Duprat. (Hachette, pp. 384).

AGNOLO, C. The Akikuyu. The Customs, Traditions and Folklore. (Nyeri (Kenya): Consolata Catholic Mission).

ARTER, E. H. Studies in Norwich Cathedral History. (Jarrold, 10/6).

EALLAIGH, SEAN UA. Rudhraigheacht. (Gill, 1/6).

HANSON, PAUL. Les Droits du Travailleur et le Corporatisme. (Desclée, 8 fr.).

HESSIN, SERGE DE. Les Clefs de la Suède. (Hachette, 12 fr.).

ONCANNON, MRS. THOMAS. Blessed Oliver Plunkett. (Browne & Nolan, 7/6).

ONOLLY, VIOLET. Soviet Trade from the Pacific to the Levant. (Oxford Press, 10/6).

RIOSTAMHAIL, BRATHAIR. Adhmadoireacht. (MacGuill, 2/6).

DAVIS, HENRY. Moral and Pastoral Theology. 4 vols. (Sheed & Ward, 30/–).

DELCOURT, JOSEPH. John Fisher et Thomas More. (Bonne Presse, 3 fr.).

DELEBECQUE, JACQUES. Gordon et le Drame de Khartoum. (Hachette, 15 fr.)

DESCOQS, PEDRO. Praelectiones Theologiae Naturalis: De Dei Cognoscibilitate. (Beauchesne, 112 fr.).

DESGRIPPES, GEORGES. Etudes sur Pascal: De l'Automatisme à la Foi. (Téqui, 12 fr.).

DINGLE, REGINALD. The Faith and Modern Science. (Burns Oates, 5/–).

DRINKWATER, F. H. Sermon Notes on the Sunday Gospels. (Sands, 3/6).

DRINKWATER, F. H. Why not end Poverty? (Burns Oates, 3/6).

DUFOUR, M. F. L'Arc-en-Ciel: Histoires de toutes couleurs. (Black, 2/6).

DUFOUR, M. F. Stendhal: Le Rouge et le Noir. (Black, 3/–).

FINNEGAN, H. God and I. (Gill, 1/6).

FISHER, ST. JOHN. Spiritual Consolation and other Treatises. (Burns Oates, 2/6).

FUMET, STANISLAS. Mission de Léon Bloy. (Desclée De Brouwer, 20 fr.).

GLENN, PAUL J. Sociology. A Class Manual. (Herder, 9/–).

GROEBER, DR. CONRAD. Nationalkirche? (Herder, 0.80 M).

HARRISON, RUTH. An Approach to French Poetry. (Gollancz, 3/6).

HIGHET, GILBERT. An Outline of Homer. (Gollancz, 4/–).

HODGKIN, R. H. History of the Anglo-Saxons. (Clarendon Press, 30/–).

HOOKE, S. H. The Labyrinth. Further Studies in the relation between Myth and Ritual in the Ancient World. (S. P. C. K., 12/6).

Books Received—*continued*

HUGHES, PHILIP. Earliest English Life of St. John Fisher. (Burns Oates, 5/–)

JOACHIM, FATHER. A Little Book of Indulgences. Translated from the German M. Ni Eimhthigh. (C.T.S. pp. 47).

KEATINGE, M. W. Britain in the Eighteenth Century. (Black, 3/–).

KELLEY, FRANCIS C. Blood-drenched Altars. Mexican Study. (Bruce, $3.00).

KIRSCH, FELIX M. Catholic Faith. A Catechism based on Cardinal Gaspar "Catechism." (Kenedy, pp. 64).

KLEINHAPPL, JOHANN. Der Staat bei Ludwig Molina. (Felizian Rauch, RM 6).

KOCH, ANTON. Der neue Mythus und der alte Glaube. (Herder, 0.30 M).

KOESTERS, LUDWIG. Die Kirche unseres Glaubens. (Herder, 6 M).

LATTEY, C. (Editor). The Pre-Nicene Church. A Symposium. (Burns Oates, 7/6)

LEKEUX, R. P. Sainteté et Bonne Volonté. (Lethielleux, 8 fr.).

LOSSKY, N. O. Value and Existence. (Allen & Unwin, 7/6).

MCNABB, VINCENT. The Craft of Prayer. (Burns Oates, 2/6).

MARETT, R. R. Head, Heart and Hands in Human Evolution. (Hutchinson, 10/6).

MARITAIN, JACQUES. Freedom in the Modern World. (Sheed & Ward, 6/–). French edition was reviewed in our issue of June 1934.

MARTINDALE, C. C. Athens, Argentine, Australia. (Sheed & Ward, 7/6).

MESSNER, JOHANNES. Dollfuss. An Austrian Patriot. (Burns Oates, 6/–).

MOODY, CAMPBELL. Christ for us and in us. (Allen & Unwin, 3/6).

MORE, ST. THOMAS. The Four Last Things. (Burns Oates, 2/6).

MOURRET, FERNAND. History of the Catholic Church. Vol. II. (Herder, 21/–).

O'LEARY, CON. A Wayfarer in Ireland. (Methuen, 7/6).

PATRY, RAOUL. La Religion dans l'Allemagne d'aujour'hui. (Payot, 24 fr.).

PEERS, E. ALLISON. Complete Works of St. John of the Cross. Vol. III. (Bu Oates, 15/–).

RICHARD, G. MELVILLE. Llawlyfr Hen Wyddeleg. (University of Wales Press, 6/

ROBB, NESCA. Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance. (Allen & Unwin, 12/6)

S. N. D. Religious Teaching in the Infant School. (Sands, 2/6).

SIMON, UNCLE. Story of Anne de Guigne told to Children. (Burns Oates, 1/–).

SKELLY, A. M. Sorrows and Glories of Ireland. (Herder, 6/–).

SMITH, R. W. Introduction to Mathematics. (Gollancz, 5/–).

STAINER, R. S. Selection from the Greek Lyric Poets. (Gollancz, 3/6).

VAISSIERE, J. DE LA. La Pudeur instinctive. (Editions du Cerf, pp. 153).

YOUNG, URBAN. Dominic Barberi in England. A New Series of Letters. (Burns Oat 6/–).

LIBER USUALIS. With Introduction and Rubrics in English. Edited by the Benedictin of Solesmes. (Desclée, Belgas 7.40).

LA CONTINUITE PONTIFICALE. Conférences prononcées à l'Institut Pie XI. (Bon Presse, pp. 283).

CE QUI SE PASSE EN ALLEMAGNE. (Bonne Presse, 5 fr.).

ANNUARIO DELLA UNIVERSITA CATTOLICA DEL SACRO CUORE, 1934-1935. ("Vita Pensiero," L 25).

REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1933-1934. (Stationery Office, 2/3).

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JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS
OF
THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on Monday, the 29th day of July, 1935.

The Directors submit to the Shareholders the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th June, 1935, with relative Profit and Loss Account for the Half-year to that date and a copy of the Auditor's Report thereon.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, bad and doubtful debts and contingencies, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£40,395	8	7
To which has to be added:—			
Balance of undivided profits from last Account ...	27,793	8	5
	£68,188	17	0
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000	0	0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—			
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of **Eleven** per cent. per annum, subject to deduction of Income Tax	27,500	0	0
In reduction of Bank Premises Account ...	5,000	0	0
To next Account	25,688	17	0
	£68,188	17	0

The Reserve Fund now stands at £680,000.

By Order of the Board,

ALFRED T. COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 12th July, 1935.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED

BALANCE SHEET, 30th JUNE, 1935. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
ıl, viz.:—100,000 Shares of)each—£2,000,000; amount		
d up, £5 per Share	500,000 0 0	
ve Fund	680,000 0 0	
lidated Bank Notes out- nding ...£550,000 0 0 : Held by the nk ... 40,588 0 0	509,412 0 0	
dt. Current, and other counts, including Interest e on Deposits	10,853,195 5 9	
y Agents	20,127 9 4	
e on Bills Discounted not at ıturity	5,211 16 11	
and Loss Ac- unt ... £68,188 17 0 Transferred) Reserve ınd ... 10,000 0 0	58,188 17 0	
	£12,626,135 9 0	

ASSETS.	£ s. d.
By Cash in hand and with Bankers ..	1,219,456 4 7
,, Investments, viz.:— War Loan, Irish Free State National Loans, and other Government Stocks (including Stock lodged with the Currency Commission by way of Security for Consolidated Bank Notes outstanding as per contra) ...	4,996,136 2 4
Corporation Stocks, Railway Debenture Stocks, and other Securities	274,752 15 0
	6,490,345 1 11
,, Bills Discounted, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc., after deducting provision for Bad and Doubtful Accounts ...	5,942,206 14 3
,, Sundry Agents	9,333 8 10
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 58 Branches) at cost, less amounts written off	184,250 4 0
	£12,626,135 9 0

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ended 30th JUNE, 1935.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
By Balance from last Account ...		27,793 8 5
,, Gross Profit for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, Bad and Doubtful Debts and Contingencies		148,098 18 11
nses of Management, including Directors' Fees (£2,000), ılaries, Pensions and Allow- nces, Bonuses and Grants to taff, Rents, Rates, Repairs, evenue Taxes, and all other atlay	107,703 10 4	
unt transferred to Reserve und	10,000 0 0	
dend to be paid h August, 1935, ıbject to deduc- £ s. d. on of Income ax ... 27,500 0 0 Premises Acct. 5,000 0 0 nce to next Acct. 25,688 17 0	58,188 17 0	
	£175,892 7 4	£175,892 7 4

AUDITOR'S REPORT

ıve obtained all the information and explanations I have in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing nd Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

ave verified the Investments. Their market value as on ne, 1935, is in excess of the amount at which they n the Balance Sheet. I have also verified the Cash and hand at the Head Office.

e Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as ılt a true and correct view of the state of the Company's ccording to the best of my information and the explana- ven to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
', 12th July, 1935. Chartered Accountant, Auditor.

MARTIN F. MAHONY,
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WILLIAM R. NOLAN,
} *Directors.*

ALFRED T. COLLINS, *General Manager.*

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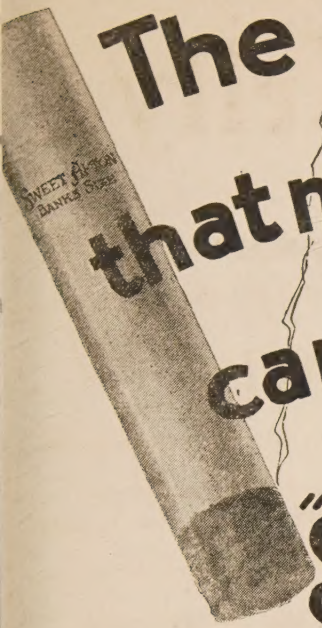

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